

THE SECOND PART
OF THE
MINISTER
OF
STATE.

Written by Monsieur de SILHON,

Secretary to the late

Cardinal RICHELIEU.

Englished by H. H.



LONDON,

Printed for Thomas Dring, and are to be sold at his Shop at the
Gate in Fleet-street, near St. Dunstons Church, 1663.

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Written by Monsieur de Sillon,

Secretary to the King.

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Printed for Thomas Davis, and are to be sold at his shop at the
George in the Strand, near St. Dunstons Church, 1863.



To the Kings most Excellent MAJESTY.

SIR,

THE Women of *Rome* offer'd Jewels, The
Greeks Silver and Gold, *Sylla* his Bloud,
and *Jeptha* his onely Child for Victory;
But your Majesty made no such Offer-
ings, And yet obtained a Greater Vi-
ctory than any of them; A Victory
without Bloud: And as it is, th'Highest Victory that
hath been gained, So, in forgiving Your Enemies, Your
Majesty hath taken th'Highest Revenge; And as very
Acceptable to God, Because Forgiveness proceeds from
th'Heart, And, that God, for Christs sake hath forgiven
Us.

The Prince that is Feared hath cause to Fear, And 'tis
safer for Princes to be Beloved for their Clemency, than
Feared for their Punishments; The Law of the *Jewes*
was the Law of Fear, But of Christians, the Law of
Love; And th'Enemies of *Cesar* did more envie the
Pard'ning of the *Pompeians*, than the Killing of *Pompey*;
Cesar is very Eminent in History for Pard'ning of In-
juries, *Alexander* for giving of Rewards; Yet to th'Un-
thankfull person *Alexander* would not give a Reward,
nor *Cesar* Pardon an Injury: And ther's nothing that
moves God to be less Carefull of us, than Ingratitude;
which like the Sea, turns Fresh springs into Salt water,
and may mind them of their Duty and Gratitude, who
are Guilty of the contrary.

To

To present Your Majesty with a Serious Frenchman in an English Habit is t^e invert the Mode and Humour of Court, And t^e expose my Confidence to Your Majesties Accurate Judgement in th^e Elegancies and Criticisms of th^e *English* and *French* Languages, which are much Improved by the Learning and Industry of them, who delight in adding t^e other mens Inventions ; And, were not this Age Curious in th^e Advance of Sciences & Arts, They would have their Cadences, and be subject to Mortality with other things ; Yet, they that busie themselves too much upon Speculative subtilties, forsake the solid Foundations of Religion, and pry so farr into the Nature and unrevealed purposes of God, as to forget the Nature and Duty of Man.

The Subject matter of my Author, is fitted to the Meridian of Statesmen and of State Affaires, and communicates not onely Politique Essayes, but abstruse Philosophical Notions, which are of Familiar converse with Your Majesty, whose Experience in the Intricacies of Government gives the Rule of Condu&t to Your Privie Councillors ; And what was said of the French King *Lewis* th^e Eleventh, is verifi'd in Your Majesty, That Your Majestie carries Your Councell with You where-soe're Your Majesty Goes.

That Your Majesty may be th^e Happy Instrument of Good to Church and State is the daily prayer of

Your Majesties most Obedient, and most

Faithfull Subject and Servant,

HENRY HERBERT.

TO

TO THE
R E A D E R.



READER, I give thee here the second part of the Minister of State, which long since I promised thee, and Confess it unjust to make thee Languish so long in expectation of so little a thing; and that thy good reception of the first parts deserved better Expedition; and to supply that by Promptitude of Labour which could not be paid by thy Excellency of the Work; but that which Caused the delay and suspension of the performance of my promise, Was the Condition of the Time and the present State of Europe, Having proposed unto myself not only to speak of it, but to make it the Foundation and Basis of my Reasonings; In thy Execution of this Design many Impediments delayed me, as a person that had nothing, but Moveable dust to build upon; And the frequent and unexpected Revolutions, which the War hath perpetually produced have often taken the prospects from me, which I had taken, and made the Foot to slide, which was Advanced towards my work. But to perform my promise at last, I have Leapt over these ill paces, and have stollen betwixt these Rocks, to gain the place, where I would Land, and where I was expected by the too favourable and too obliging desires of many persons; And I have made thy Ill fortune of the Times and the Condition of Affairs to be subservient to my designs, and am entred upon a Carriere, the War hath laid open unto me with Convenience, and which Peace will shut up at its Coming in by disarming spirits of sharpness, and in blunting the points of Pens as of Armes; I could have heartily desired that thy Ambition of our Enemies, had been less Immoderate, and that thy Attempts and Invasions they have made upon thy Estates and Liberties of our Allies had not tyred the Kings Patience nor constrained that Generous Prince to take into his Protection and secure by his Arms them, whom he could not defend by his Intercessions, and good Endeavours; However, since the Lot is Cast, and that Justice hath drawn the Sword to revenge thy Injury which Reason nor Intercession could cause to be repaired, I thought, my course of life not permitting me to serve the King in his Armies, that I ought to serve him some other way, and that there are Means to Incommode his Enemies without using of Violence; That thy House of Austria being the great Adversary the King hath in hand, resolving to raise the Greatness of their Ambition upon two Engines, Force, and Artifice, and this last, though the most immaterial, removing sometimes Burdens, and sometimes overthrowing great weights, which by force were Immoveable; I did conceive, that I should not perform a small Act, if I could render it less profitable or less powerfull; And cure the spirits of other Princes, and the spirits of their Subjects, of the multitude of Errors wherewith that House hath prepossessed them to its Advantage; And break the Chain that holds them Prisoners to the great prejudice of the Christian Common-Wealth. I believed, that the Kings good Genius, for that purpose might inspire my writings with the same Vertue and Success, which heretofore thy Eloquent Discourse of Sir of Langey had in changing the Belief and thy Inclinations of a part of Germany, when Charls the fifth had made such Malignant Impressions against his Master, that with great Difficulty he obtained Audience of any person. We are not altogether

To the READER.

in that Distress, and the Corruption of Resentments, is not so general, as it was in that Countrey; There are nevertheless many Enchantments both there and in other places, and darkness is to dissipate, which are favourable to th' House of Austria, and this is my present Work, according to the Little Understanding God hath given me, and the little Knowledge gained in the Matters of the world; The manner of Assaulting this House, (which I do otherwise reverence with Reservations to the Kings and my Countries Interest) cannot be gentler, unless it were too light; And I blend so much Courtesie with the War I make it, that I doubt not but many will Accuse me of too much Moderation, considering Chiefly th' Impudency and Venome of so many Libels, which his Creatures have Caused to flye from all parts against the King and his Ministers of State; But Imitation is not a Valuable Excuse for ill proceedings, and every sort of Revenge is not decent for honest persons. The praises I give, to the good Qualities of the Princes of that House, and to the Commendable part in the form of their Government, which I do not Conceal, make it sufficiently appear, That nothing but the Truth and th' Interest of the publique have forced me to discover the Defects, which are of Importance for the publique to know, and whereof it were to be wisht that these Princes were exempt for the peace of the world, and for their peculiar Acquiescence. It were, I say, to be wisht, that these Princes had not staid till other Princes had put bounds to their Ambition, and t' Attain their proposed Ends, had not made use of all sorts of Means. That if they are notwithstanding ill satisfied with me, and take an ill Conceit against my Book, I shall not think it strange, knowing very well, that wounds cannot be healed without giving Pain, nor some Truths published without gaining of Hatred.

As 'tis then with some Trouble, that I do undraw the Curtain, wherewith th' House of Austria disguiseth their Defaults, and discover the Playster, wherewith it hideth her Spots; I avow also, that 'tis with an unspeakable Joy, that I have endeavoured to represent the Kings Conduct altogether contrary to theirs; That 'tis with an Incredible satisfaction, that I do render th' Homage, and pay the Tribute to his Person, which are due of natural Right to his Excellent vertues; And that 'tis no small Content to Conceive, that this Essay made for his service proceed rather from my Choyce and Zeal for his Glory, than from any precise Duty required by Subjection. Th' Actions of this Princes Life, are so many wonders, on what side soever you regard them; And who can propose to himself a more agreeable object than that of his Reign, where Vertue and Fortune seem to dispute to Emulation for production of the fairest Effects; for provision of the greatest Recompences for the highest Merit; for the publishing of it to the most advantage; to whom th' honour of th' highest Enterprizes shall be given, and to whom shall be attributed the most happy and highest Events, This is not all; This Reign, which in its self is so admirable, and from whose form Issues so many Lights, as are proper for it, receives yet a greater Lustre and new Occasions of Admiration from th' Opposition made to his Reign by our Neighbours, and by the Parallel of their Affairs with ours. I will not therefore enlarge or trouble myself to prove, what is not contested, and which in a short time may be better known; when the Clouds the War of necessity Interposeth to our felicities are dispersed, It will appear more Entire, and with that abundance of Blessings, which Peace ought to Crown it withall.

The King next to God is the principal Spring, and the first Principle of the wonders

To the READER.

wonders we speak of: 'Tis also to him, to whom I do attribute the first Honour and Principal Glory, Though much reflects upon them, who have been th' Instruments of so prosperous a Reign; who have seconded that Excellent Prince with their Counsels and Actions; who have aided in steering th' helm of the State, and to guide the Ship to a glorious Haven. I would not descend to that particular, nor prepossesse the spirit of any person, I have not made distribution of that Glory, nor taken from the Reader, the right of giving it to whom he shall think worthiest of it; I leave him then this privilege Entire, and the Liberty to make Judgement, as it shall seem good unto him; I have not offended against Justice, when I have made use of that right, or that the same faith and sincerity have not alwayes reigned in what I have written for the past time, as in what I now write, and shall say for the future; And 'tis that little good, which you may find in my writings of this Nature, or at least that, whereof I dare glory. For they do me much wrong, who have accused me to have Commended some persons with Excess of praises, and with Immoderate complaisance; That is very contrary to my humour, and I would have them know, that 'tis as impossible for me to praise falsely, as to blame causelessly, and to seek Pains for what is foul, as to cast Ink upon a fair face. I have written my Thoughts, the words have issued from the soul; Painting hath not Contributed any thing to the subject, the soul represents; 'Tis a proceeding I will never forsake; And Fortune hath not hopes enough to give me, nor good enough to do me, to oblige me to betray my Conceptions, and to tell a Lye, which is the greatest of all faults. Postérité will speak with much more advantage than I have done of th' actions which I have praised; Strangers applaud highly, what I have said, and even they, who are affrighted, and whose eyes they dazzle, make the same Judgment; if I have sinned against the Rules of good sense, and if my Reasonings are found weak, they shall very much oblige me in reforming them, and in instructing of me. 'Tis a courtesie not to be rejected, and a blind man should be very unhappy in refusing to be guided by a person that hath a good sight. This second part, and the third, which shall shortly follow, will open a fairer field, and furnish a more Ample matter of Instruction for them, who would do me that favour; I here they shall find more mysterious Politiques and more profoundly handled, than in the first part, and there may be seen more Lively and more Natural touches of that Incomparable Conduct, which will not receive its true value but from the future, and from th' Age of the world.

Thou wilt excuse, Reader, this small Apology, which ought not to be denied to Truth, the chief and best Condition of my works; I come to the Subject of this Book, whereof the two first books have for Title and Matter, The Council of War of a Prince; 'Tis not that I pretend there, to expound the Precepts of the Military Art, or to shew th' Order of a Siege and of a Battel; such things are not of my profession or force; my design is onely to give some Notions and some Lights to them, who having th' honour to be of the Princes Council, ought to be furnished, and able to give an Opinion upon the war, the most Jealous of all humane Actions, and the most important of all politique Affairs; 'Tis certain, that since a Man is not called to th' Exercise of Justice without Learning and Approved abilities; no person ought to rise rashly and without preparation to that severe and dreadfull Tribunal of Justice, which the Prince executes against himself, and ought to exercise against other Princes; To that Tribunal,

To the READER.

I say, where no person can advise a war without giving Sentence of Death against a great Number of Innocent persons, who are obliged to perish in the Just or Unjust Quarrels of their Masters.

I pass from thence to the Third part, and there continue my Method, supposing that th' Armes of a Prince cannot have a juster Employment than to purge the State of Civil Wars; And to divert them, which forein Enemies Endeavour to bring into the Countrey; And having declared that the King hath stopt the great Spring of the Troubles of the Kingdome in suppressing th' Hugonot faction; I shew, That he hath disappointed the great design of Monarchy of th' House of Austria, in which was subtilly and necessarily laid up the Ruine of France. These wonderfull Events, being considered, I conceive, that no man can say any thing of so great advantage of this Prince, that is not beneath his Glory, and that Rhetorique wants Figures, or th' Art of Sophisters boldness to equal the greatness of these two Successes; but since the Design of this pretended Monarchy, which many persons of old date have attributed to th' House of Austria, passeth into the Spirits of some men for an Invention or Fable; I am resolved, to draw this Truth from the Darknes where it was hid, and to clear the belief of Princes and of Nations, with the Lights that History hath furnisht, and with the results from the Conclusions of the Designs and Enterprizes of the Princes of that House, wherein I have endeavoured, to give them as much honour as is possible for me, in acting rationally and in order to the proportion and appropriation of the Means to th' Ends, they had designed. For the world well knows, that I have not been of Ferdinands Council nor of Charls the fifth, nor of the other Princes of that Line. I have yet, Reader, two or three things, to say, before I finish, and it concerns me that thou shouldst know them. The first is, that in speaking of the raising of the Catalans, and particularly of th' Insurrections of the Portugeles, which immediately followed, It seems, that I do presage and play the Prophet of things past; To which I answer, It was foreseen, that it might be objected unto me, and that I had not exposed my self to that Assault, if many persons of great Quality and Merit, had not seen the same things in a discourse, which I made from the beginning, and at th' Apparition of that Occurrence, before the Portugeles had thrown off the Spanish Domination; The second thing is, That Foreiners may possibly take offence in that I do touch some Errors in the persons of their Nation and discover some stains. But I assure my self, that they will be easily satisfied, when they Consider, that 'tis not by a spirit of Disdain or motion of Hatred, and that the manner of my Entertainment, is not different from that which I give my Countreymen, whose defects and stains, I do not hide or suppress, when the Truth and Necessity of the discourse oblige me to expose and produce them. The third thing is, that a false date is stollen into my Narratives, which is that of the Treaty of Smalchalde and it may be of some other Anachronismes, which are of no Importance to my design; And that it satisfies me, that the facts whereon my Reasonings are grounded and built are true, without respect to the time wherein they were done.

These Advices, Reader, being received, Thou maist give what Entertainment thou pleasest to this Book; whatever it be, it shall give me no Trouble; being certain, that no person can disappoint me, of the first Recompense and Principal End, that I proposed to my self in writing, which is, the satisfaction of Endeavouring the service of my Prince and Countrey.

SECOND



SECOND PART
OF

The Minister of State.

Of the Counsel of War of a Prince.

First BOOK.

First Discourse.

whence it proceeds, That Beasts of the same Kind do not make War amongst themselves as Men do; That Irregular Passions are the Cause of that Disorder; That Duels are against the Right of Men, and particularly against th' Authority of the Prince.



Th' Entry of this Discourse, there's Matter of Astonishment; That Wars are seen amongst Men; Rules invented, and an Art formed to direct them; That among all th' Arts. exercised in the Society of Men, there's none that casts so great a light, or that gains so great a portion of glory: And that in th' Old Law, War is found to be so solemnly Authorised, and, in a manner, Consecrated, by the Command of God, as that amongst his high and most glorious Titles, He hath chosen That of the *God of Armies*. Th' inclination which naturally the greatest part of Things hath, not onely to Conserve It's Being, but also to Multiply it, is evidently contrary to this Visible folly which incites Men to the Destruction of one another; And we do not see, That other Creatures of the same kind, make amongst themselves particular assigned Combats, or that they assemble in Troops to decide any difference by Murder, and by the slaughter of the greatest part of them, That Dereliction and

Book I. Prostitution men make of their Lives, and the Subjects for which they so willingly Sacrifice them, being many times but a little smock and opinion; Are they not the effects of a secret Instinct? That it is not their Chiefest good, nor their Ultimate felicity, which without doubt it should be, if there were not a greater Good: And the Wars, which God permits or commands, where Life is given up as a prey to so many Accidents that destroy it, are they not Clear evidences, and a Manifest conviction, of the small Account God makes of it, and that it is not the fairest present he makes to men, nor the subject, wherein is accomplished th' End for which he gives them their Being?

But not to wander out of our way, and to take off th' Amazement, whereof we have proposed the Causes; I say, It must not be thought strange, that men enter so often into Quarrels with their fellows, since they are so seldome at Accord with themselves, and are scarce free from Troubles and Disorders within, and that their very Souls are the Fields of the Combats that are fought, and th' Enemies that make the War quarter always within them. This disorder, which happens in the condition of Men, and not of Beasts, in whom no discords seem to arise, nor contrariety of parts to be formed, hath many springs from whence it issues; the first is, as all the world knows, the Constitution of their Nature, and the divers orders of the parts that compose it; th' Inclinations of th' one are ordinarily opposed to th' inclinations of th' other, and their Appetites agitated with such Contrary motions, that they which cause the Fire to arise are not more opposed, than they that make the Earth to descend. So that there is neither peace nor quietness in th' Interior of Man, longer than the Superior part is obeyed by the Passions, and that th' Appetite where they are formed, permits the yoke, and resists not th' orders that are imposed upon it.

If it happen, and 'tis the second Spring of disorders, That in these Intestine Wars and Skirmishes, which tear the Soul, th' Inferior part obtains the Victory, yet Calm and Rest attends not upon that fatal Conquest, but greater Emotions, and more dangerous Tempests are raised: And as there are People of so unquiet a Nature, and of a humor so turbulent, as that they can never remain in peace, and that of necessity they must stir within, when they have nothing to do without, and kindle Civil, when they have finished Forein Wars: So when the Passions find no resistance from Reason, and have neither Bridle to retain them, nor Barrier to stay them, they abate not of their Inquietude; they turn their Forces against themselves; they trouble and hinder one another in the pursuit of their Objects: Love slackens th' activity of Ambition; Avarice stops the progress of Love; and th' poor Soul, the Subject which these Furies torment, and the Sea these Winds agitate, suffers more by their violence than can be expressed: yet Reason is never so fully obscur'd, nor so generally disarmed by the Passions, but that some beam always remains, which makes

makes visible to the Soul, at least at certain encounters, the Deformity of her condition, and points out her shame and remorse for base condescensions. I could here produce, if it were not a little from the purpose, though not unprofitable, another Cause of Man's misfortune, who delivers himself up to the mercy of his Passions, and permits them to take the place of his Reason, which she ought to have over them: Man being unable to put off the Desire of happiness, which Nature hath planted in the Centre of his Soul, nor to forbear acting to its Content, though he intend it not; and incapable to fill or calm it, but in the possession of that End for which he received his Being, as the cause it was given unto him, or in the exercise of the Virtues, the means of conducting him thither, having obtain'd th'other good things pursu'd, and enjoy'd th'other desired objects, is to begin again, and is as empty as He was before; that instead of going straight on, He turn'd the back to th'aspir'd felicity; And nothing remains, if more were not to be fear'd, but a dull satiety that befores him, a profound weariness of spirit that renders him insupportable to himself, and such an inevitable melancholy as gnaws and frets men who fall from their hopes.

As then, th' Irregular Passions are the cause of th' Intestine Troubles which men suffer, and of th' ill intelligence they hold within themselves; they are also the cause of the Quarrels rais'd amongst particular persons; and of the Wars made amongst Princes. Th' enterprizes which Ambition, Avarice, and the like disordred motions forme in some, to the dammage of others, and th' oppositions made to their violence and rapidity, put all Civil Societies into combustion, and cut asunder all the Bonds of the Politique Body. It were to the loss of my Expressions, and to th' abuse of the Readers patience, to labor the confirmation of a truth, which Experience hath taught in all places, Reason causeth to be touch'd with the finger, and whereof History gives constant evidences.

As to Beasts, 'tis no wonder if they are not subject to so great strokes, and to those furious storms, wherewith God hath permitted Man's condition to be beaten; Their Souls are not divided by its Powers into opposite Regions, and make not in them the conjunction of two different worlds, the Spiritual and Temporal, as the Souls of Men do; but all it's Inclinations and Faculties are drawn, as the Philosophers say, from the breast and power of the Matter; it hath no Appetite but what is bounded, and a small thing satisfies it; and as Nature guides it by a true light to th' Objects most proper, and prescribes the degree of Enjoyment that is most convenient, and cannot exceed; she provides also objects in such Abundance, and of so Easie an acquisition, that all th' Individuals of the same kind find what is necessary for them, and without labour.

To divert these evils, wherewith th' Humane condition's afflicted, or to correct the malignity, and to dull th' edge of them, Divine Providence hath not deprived the Soul of Means and convenient Remedies;

Book I. if that had been, it had left too shameful and too visible a stain upon that fair *Oeconomy*, wherewith it governs the World; and that admirable congruity it hath observ'd in all th' other parts which compose it, had been belied in the noblest part of them; It had acted with th' imprudence of an Artificer, who lays out all his force, and th' excellency of his Art, upon a base subject, and takes pains to carve a piece of Glas curiously, and to commit great faults in a matter of much price, or to set a rich Diamond ill, which must abate the lustre of his Art, and honor due to Nature. But that is prevented; for as to the principal good of men, as th' inward calm and tranquillity of the Soul, and victory of Reason over the Passions, whence tranquillity and calm do issue, the Means to obtain them, is in their power, and therein they depend not upon the fancies of Fortune, nor upon the Passions of other Men: Yet since th' Infidelity of *Adam*, and th' unhappy destiny of corrupted Nature, there are not onely great Combats to be fought, and strange Difficulties to be overcome for that Victory; but also great Reliefs to be expected, and eminent supplies from Philosophy, and greater from Religion; and the Grace of God is never wanting to them, who are not wanting to themselves; and the good successes of this War attend always upon good Designs, and lawful Resistances.

As for the spoils which Passions commit without, and th' impetuous Morions wherewith they disorder Society; if they overflow against particular men; and if they produce injuries and outrages, and the Revnge and Reparations which offended persons take by their hands; greater and more dangerous Excesses succeed the first; The Preservatives and Remedies against these evils, are found in the same Society wherein they are seen to bud and grow.

Wherefore there's no Government in the world, of what Spirit soever 'tis animated, and under what Form soever 'tis establish'd, which hath not restrained from th' hands of particular persons th' use of Vengeance, to transmit it to their Magistrates, as persons disinterested; and for fear also, lest Corruption should penetrate even to the Functions of their Charges, and that the Justice they ought to distribute, should be changed by some tincture of Passion which might invisibly steal in; it hath been ordain'd, That the dispensation should be made by the ministration of the Laws, that are incorruptible, and being incapable of Affection and Knowledge, are by consequent incapable of Passions, and inaccessible by Love and Hatred, by Favour and Riches: And that there may be no power in the State, but what shall bend under that of the Laws, nor so petty a person that shall not have Reason of the Greatest that may offend him. The disposition of publick Forces is committed to the Sovereign; wherewith he may reduce the most refractory and fierce Subject to th' obedience of common Right, and confine him within the bounds of Equity and Justice.

From hence it may appear, That th' use of Duels, whereby particular

particular persons endeavour to do themselves Justice, and to draw Book I.
Reason with their hands of th' injuries received from particular men,
is a manifest violation of the Right of the People, and a particular
Invasion upon the Princes Right. And this Evil began by the per-
nicious example of *Francis* the First, and *Charls* the Fifth, and by the
fatal accorded permission of *Henry* the Second, encreased wonder-
fully in the time of our Civil Wars, and in that general depravati-
on of th' obedience and fidelity which Subjects owe to their Prince;
and hath since risen to its height, and is multipli'd infinitely by th' in-
dulgency of *Henry* the Fourth, during the peace of his Reign. And as
fruitful and fat grounds, if good Seeds are not cast into them to ex-
ercise their fruitfulness, produce Thistles and Gorse, and other hurt-
ful Weeds; it hath so happened to us, that men of courage wanting
matter to ingender lawful acts of valour, have given themselves up
to unlawful productions, and not being able to gain the Body, have
pursu'd the Shadow, in these particular Combats, wherein *France*
hath lost more Noble Blood in a few years of Peace, than it had done
in many years of War. But 'tis to no purpose to preach to our No-
bility upon this Text, or to declaim against this Abuse or excess of
Courage, or to seek Remedies in Philosophy or Religion against so
Brutal a disease; or that the Blood which *Henry* the Second permitted
to be poured out in the Combat of *Jarnac* and *Chastelleraie* cried for
vengeance to Heaven, and obtain'd it; or that the Prince, whose Qua-
lity exempted him from th' hazard of Duels, lost his life in a Sport
which was the Representation of it; that the most warlike Nations,
except ours, of the world, have not admitted of that Bastard-Val-
lour, or at least Naturalized it; That the *Lacedemonians*, who made
a more expresse profession of true Valour than th' other *Grecians*, and
whose Government seem'd to have for Soul nothing but that Vir-
tue, had no knowledge of Duels; That the *Romans*, who were the
Conquerors of so many Nations and People, resign'd it to their Vilest
kind of men, and to whom they had assigned Criminal lives onely for
their objects; That the *Spaniards*, who have conceiv'd that great de-
sign of th' Absolute Monarchy, which hath agitated them above an
Age, and for that purpose have declared and made War to so
many other Nations, have by consequence more need of Valour than
any other Virtue, laugh at our modern folly; and if a sleight imita-
tion corrupt them, or others of our Neighbours, 'tis but a spark that
flies to them from the great fire which devours us; That 'tis an hor-
rible injustice, that a person that hath sweat in Arms, and been
victorious in many Combats, Battels, and Sieges, should be obliged
to put his Reputation and Glory to Question against a young Fool,
who hath not seen any other Field of Battel than the Hall of a
Fencing-Master, whose courage rests upon th' agility of his body,
and swiftness of his hands, and upon a long exercise of Assault
and Defence: 'Tis to no purpose, I say, to represent all this to our
Nobility, which can never be converted or healed, but by their own
cure

Book I. cure of this Folly, and by fixing their honour no longer in that false and furious Valour, and by beating down with its own hands th'Idol it hath erected for Adoration.

Second Discourse.

why God hath left Princes the Right of doing themselves Justice, when they are offended by other Princes; That Lawful War is in th' order of Virtues, and a Branch of Justice; why 'tis called the Flayl of God's Anger.

WHat hath been said in the Precedent Discourse, is one of the Motives which have obliged Particular persons to make choice of Superiors, and t'impose on them the duty of distributing Justice; The price in part of the Liberty quitted for the love of their Superiors: But that would not serve for perfection of th'end proposed to themselves in th'establishing of them; And 'tis not enough for the safety and prosperity of a Country, exposed to the spoils of the Seas and Rivers, to raise Causeys against the overflowings of the Rivers, if Banks and Sluces are not provided against the Seas Inundations. The Invasions made by Sovereigns upon th'Estates of other Sovereigns, and the Ruines they bring, when they enter with Armies, are evils of another weight and of another consequence, than those evils particular men suffer from other particular persons; and other labours and effects are required to stop the causes of these public Springs of Desolation, when they break out, than to suppress the small disorders, and appease the petty troubles which arise betwixt private persons.

'Tis visible from hence, since Princes have no Superiors on Earth, to repair the wrongs suffer'd by other Princes, that they may do themselves Reason; and that the Right of Nature, which permits to every man th'exercise of Revenge, when 'tis just, is not suspended, as to Princes, by the Right of the People, which takes it from particular persons for the reasons above mention'd. Whence it follows also, That God having taken away that Right, by reason of the Ignorance which doth usually accompany them, or Passions that betray them, and walking in darkness, would grope to find the ways of Justice, or in weighing the wrongs received, and satisfaction due, the perpetual motions of their lives might shake their hands, and hinder them to hold the Ballance streight, This Right hath he given to Sovereigns, with this precise Obligation, That in their Understandings and Counsels, Reason should preside in all the purity of its light; that Passions should have no admittance to their Cabinet Counsel, and that this holy place ought to be like th' highest Regions of th' Air, without emotion or trouble; That the mischief is, that their Cabinet Counsel, instead of resembling that high Region, is but too often
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the representation of the Middle Region, and instead of calm and serenity, which ought to reign there, nothing is heard but the noise of Passions, and seen, but the fruits of Ambition and Avarice, and those other great wandrings of mens understandings. Book I.

Though this be so, and that Evils are never small, which grow from the disorders of publick causes; 'tis nevertheless the gentlest destiny, and most favourable entertainment, which the present condition of men can receive: Providence, after the loss of Primitive Innocency, and Original Justice, hath sufficiently provided against this Inconvenience, and strengthened Society against the designs of Injustice and spoiles of Violence, by inspiring men with Policy and Judgment to make choice of Sovereigns, that should be obliged to defend them against the force of strangers, and against th'unjust enterprizes of their fellow-Citizens and Countrymen; and by imposing upon them a stricter Obligation and severer Laws to do their duty; because the sole faculty of doing Justice, and Inflicting of punishment is reserved to them against such as disobey. To conclude, God hath not onely filled up the measures of good, which he did unto men, but hath also given them over-measure, in sending the Law of Charity, and causing to descend from Heaven that holy fire, which dries up the very spring, and consumes the very root of all sharpness and violence, that may arise against ones Neighbour in the Souls of men. That if men fall so often sick, and die in th'abundance of Good things, notwithstanding the many Preservatives and Remedies, and the large effusion of graces and Relief, wherewith God hath supplied them; If they are mastered by Vices, and led in triumph by their Passions; if in stead of Reason and Equity, Injustice and Force Reign and condemn th' Innocent with the Nocent; He hath permitted it, not to deprive men of th' use of that Liberty, which he had given in favour of them, nor to take from them the matter of Merit, by imposing the Necessity of doing good; but that wicked persons might punish one another, and honest men exercised by their contraries; and that all may learn, There's nothing more vile and more despicable than life; That there's nothing but vanity and affliction of spirit in it; and that no true love is to be had for a Country, which for a few Flowers it bears, produceth many Briars and Thorns; and having but a narrow path that leads to life, hath many ways, and large roads that lead to death, and end in precipices. This is to th'honor of Divine Providence. Let's return to our Subject.

'Tis easie to conclude from what hath been now said, That as God is th' Author of the Justice, which Sovereigns distribute to their people, He is also th' Author of that Justice which Sovereigns exercise against other Sovereigns; that both of them have the Seal of his Approbation; and that th' use of Lawful Arms is no less a Virtue than th' use of Laws, when they are well dispensed. And this first kind of Justice, resting upon the Basis of its Nature, and not exceeding the bounds of the Right of the People, is more noble and glorious

Book I. glorious than th'other; is a livelier Beam of the power, which God confers upon Princes, and a more illustrious evidence of th'honor they enjoy, to represent him on earth, as I have shewed in another place. 'Tis no wonder then if God, in th'Antient Law, commanded War to be made, and if he be there styled, *The God of Armies*; 'tis of that Justice whereof we have lately spoken, and whereof we will draw the Platform and Habit the Figure in the subsequent Discourses.

It may be demanded, whether the Doctrine which I have now delivered be true, and that War is a Branch and a Stream of Justice, and in th'Order and Classis of Virtues? As, whence it proceeds, That in the Bible, 'Tis called one of the Flays of th'Anger of God? And wherefore in the New Law, God takes not the Title of, *God of Armies*, wherewith he seems to adorn himself, and to exalt his Majesty in th'Old Law?

As to the first Difficulty, 'tis not uneasy to resolve, and many Reasons may be brought to prove it: The First, That the Justice Sovereigns execute upon other Sovereigns, is called a Flayl, in comparison of that Justice they render to their Subjects; so that th'administration of this Justice being forbidden to particular persons, and committed to a third kind of persons, and of a disinterested condition, is, by consequence, less subject to Corruption than th'other sort of Justice, where parties are Judges in their own cause, and where there's danger, lest self-love entering the Counsels of War with Passions, wherewith it is usually accompanied, occasion a mixture of Injustice. The second is, That although Right and Equity only are proposed in the project and birth of War, Accidents unseen do many times happen in the sequel and progress thereof, which change its nature, and degenerate it into a greediness of Vengeance, or into a sole desire of Ambition; and 'tis certain, that th'Appetite is provok'd by the facility of giving it content, and th'abundance of Meats makes it exceed the bounds of Temperance. The third Reason is, That the Justice which Sovereigns distribute to their Subjects, is rendered without Effusion of blood, and without Violence, at least in Civil affairs; the Justice they exercise against other Sovereigns is never guided but by Force and Arms, breathes nothing but death and murders: And were the Question only for one inch of Earth, or a spoonful of Water, many Subjects must perish on both sides, for the just or unjust Quarrels of their Masters; which ought not to be found strange, since Sovereigns being th'Heads of the Body, whereof the Subjects are the Members, and as such, being not able to Act but in communion and conjunction with them; That they make an indivisible communication in all things amongst themselves, and that th'Head being struck, the Members must be offended; nor can th'Head defend it self, without exposing the Parts to blows, which make one Body with it.

So that the manner of Exercising this Justice, which is full of blood, desolation, and ruine, may justly be called a Flayl; as Fire and Poyson

Poyson us'd in Medicines may be called by such names, to distinguish Book I.
them from th'other Ingredients made use of to heal ordinary Diseases: And it must not be denied, but that the Justice rendred to particular persons is subject, though not so often, nor so dangerously, to the same Inconveniencies, and exposed to th'Assaults and Ambushes of Vices, which are contrary to it; It must be confessed, That Reason and Equity do not always weigh down the Ballance; That there are bad Judges, as well as wicked Princes; And that in both Capacities, the Great oppresses the Mean persons, and the Poor are the Prey and the Sacrifices of the Rich: And since it is the condition and common Portion of Moral Vertues to Lodge betwixt two Extremes, and in the Confines of two opposed Vices; 'tis no wonder, if Man be troubled to contain himself in the midst of these two Confines, without Entry into the Country of Vices, where he finds on all sides the passages Easie, and where th'Errors and Inward Inclinations, th'Objects and outward Examples press him frequently to pass.

The fourth reason is, That God hath sometimes commanded a People to make War effectively upon another People, to Exterminate them from the face of th'Earth, and to purge them with Sword and Fire, of the Crimes wherewith they had offended His Divinity, dishonored Nature, and defac'd the Politique Body: Many Examples there are of this Truth in th'Old Testament, and among the *Jews*, that besides th'express Commands God hath given to make War, He hath sometimes raised and caused *Sovereigns* and their People to take Arms by occult and unknown Means, which are not here to be discussed, to chastise other People and other Sovereigns, that had offended Him: And this is proved in the Choice given to *David* by God, of the three Flays of his Anger, the Plague, Famine, or War, to expiate th'Excess of Pleasure and Pride, conceiv'd at the sight of the Numberless Number of the People, whereof he was the Master.

In the third place, That he causeth Accidents and Conjunctions, when he pleaseth, which constrain Princes to make War that would continue in Peace, and to break the Chains of Concord that bind them, though they Act cordially to preserve it, as I might prove by many Examples, If I had not fear to be tedious, and had not brought some Instances already in the First Part of my Discourse, That the Fire being kindled betwixt two Princes, tired with Labour in so painful, rugged, and dangerous a way, breathe nothing but Peace and Rest; yet God hinders them to attain it by unexpected Accidents, which respectively beget one another: and when th'Haven is in hope to be gain'd, some contrary Wind is raised that forceth them to Sea again, and exposeth them to new and more dangerous Storms.

These Considerations, and many more whereof I am ignorant; are the Cause, That all War, how just soever, may be called a *Flayl*
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Book I. *of God's Anger*, and an Effect of his offended Providence; It may be demanded, since War may enter into the Classis of Virtues, and is of th' Apurtenances of Justice, how comes it to pass, that God takes not, in the New Law, the glorious and fearful Title of, *God of Armies*, as he hath done in th' Old Law?

To this truly th' Answer is very easie, and who is it that knows not, if he have received any Tincture of Religion, and learned the first Elements of Christianity, that the New Law is a Law of Peace and Love towards our Neighbour? That the Disciples of *Jesus Christ* are known by that Mark, and are distinguish'd from other Men by that Sacred Character; That the Father could not give a greater Evidence of his Love to men, than in giving his onely Son for their Redemption; That the Son gave the highest Proof of Charity in offering Himself Willingly, and Sacrificing His Life Voluntarily for the Love of them; That th' holy Spirit was not seen but in the Form of a Dove, or in the Figure of fiery Tongues; And that the Church his Spouse caused Oyl and Balsome to be put into th' use of the Sacraments, and other Holy Things, and no Violent Substances; which denotes, That the Spirit of the New Law is a Spirit of Sweetness, of Indulgency, and of Peace, and commands or adviseth no other War, than what ought to be made to Passions and Vices; 'tis so far from allowing any Usurpation, or Retention of other mens Goods, that it permits not men to Cover them; and ordains not onely, that Justice be done to our Neighbour, but adviseth the support rather of Injustice and Injurie, than the Pursute of Reparations by Lawful Powers; nor to ravish from Religion th' Evidences of that fair Maxim, which proceeds securely from it, *That Action is less Noble than Sufferance*. If Justice then, which the New Law recommends so powerfully, and is the Vital Spirit and Natural Heat of the Civil Body, were impartially executed; and Charity that covers faults, which Justice would expose to light, and makes up the Breaches that Justice would leave open, were cherish'd by Christians; such men least, would have need onely of the Conditions of Peace, and of the Counsels of Natural Equity amongst themselves, and there would be no occasion for prescribing to particular persons the Forms of Pleadings, or to Princes the Laws of making War; there would be no occasions for Judges or Captains: All that are enclosed in the Womb of the Church would breathe nothing but gentle and peaceable Air, the Revenge of Outrages would be taken in the Retribution of good Deeds, and there would be no cause t' implore th' Arm of the *God of Armies*, of the *Powerful and Terrible God*, but only t' invoke the Name of the God of Peace, and Father of Mercies.

But the Mischief is, say the Poets, that Justice staid not long amongst men, and having carried the Ballance into Heaven, whither she is retired, hath left onely the Sword on Earth, which Injustice and Violence have laid hold on; That Charity, the Preserver of Union, and the great Virtue of Christianity, hath not reigned but amongst
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the Faithful of the first Generation ; That its Heat hath ever since Book I.
diminished ; and 'tis visible , that the present Christians are more
divided among themselves than the *Mahometans* ; and instead of
acting against that Immortal and Implacable Enemy of their Re-
ligion , and publick Detainer of their Estates , have neither Under-
standing , nor Courage , nor Power , but to hurt and destroy them-
selves ; Were Christians entire , and their Forces united , it might
cost the *Turk* too dear to assault them ; but by their Discords and
diminution of Forces , they make the Victory easie for their Ene-
mies ; the Blood which they pour out , and the Moneys they consume ,
are th'Evidences of their Design , and a Proof , That if they have not
Resolution enough to fight the common Enemy , they have at least
Desire enough to be taken. The Reader will excuse this small Di-
gression , and this Complaint on the By , which the Zeal of Publick
good hath forced from me.

Third Discourse.

*That Princes ought to Imitate God in th'Use of the Right he hath given
them to do Justice themselves ; That 'tis very difficult even for Princes ,
who Love and Understand their Affairs , to effect it ; which is
confirmed by two Examples , th'one of Henry
the Second , th'other of Philip the Second.*

IN the precedent Discourse hath been shewed , That the Right God
hath given to Princes of doing Justice themselves , is the richest
Effusion he makes them of his Power , and the fairest Beam he com-
municates to them of his Light ; whence we may conclude , To make
this Representation perfect , and that the Copy differ not much from
th'Original , 'tis necessary , that they Imitate His Conduct , and March
upon th'Impressions of his Providence , in th'use of that destroying
Right , and in the dispensation of that bloody Justice. In the first
place , As God never descends to this mournful Exercise , either pre-
possess'd with Error , or troubled with Passion , Princes , if possible ,
should do the same , they ought to see clearly into th'Action before
they do Embark , and be well assured that they do nothing , but what
is lawful for them to do ; and to that end they ought to use the ut-
most of their Power , that Reason onely have place in their Counsels ,
and that that great Tribunal , where such important Resolutions are
taken , and the Sentences of Life and Death given , hold onely in that
high Region of the Soul , where no smock doth arise from the lower
Region , as is above declared.

But as this is very easie to be said , so 'tis very hard to be put in
practice ; and 'tis as possible to resist th'entry of the Sea , when the
Winds drive it , as to shut the door of the Counsels of Princes upon
their Passions , or upon the Passions of their Ministers of State. I will

Book I.

not here speak, because I have done it in the first part, of th'opposed Motions, and contrary Inclinations of the Sword-men and Roabmen, equally admitted into the Counsels of Princes; the first lean ordinarily to the War, as to their Element, and to the Field, where the principal Harvest is made of their Greatness and Glory; th'other encline to Peace, as to their Centre, and as to the Season which brings them the fairest days; and where their good Qualities expatiate themselves in Pomp, and are in their proper Lustre. All the world knows of the violent Schism which divided the Thoughts of the *Constable of Montmorancy*, and of the *Chancellor of th' Hospital*, upon the Matter of the troubles, which vex'd the Minority of the Children of *Henry the Second*: And the famous Answer the *Chancellor* made to the *Constable*, who reproached him, That it belonged not to him, nor to them of his Profession, to meddle with th' Affairs of Wars; *That it belonged not to him nor to his Associates to make War, But it belonged to him and to his Associates to judge of the Time when it ought to be made.* No person also is ignorant of th' obstinate and invincible Aversion to Peace, which the *Marshal of Biron* had, and what he said one day to his son, who being not so great a Politician as the father, nor so foreseeing of the Future, acted vigorously to put out and extinguish the fire of the War, which the father endeavoured to cherish and enflame; *That if Peace was made, he resolved to set Cabages at Biron, and to renounce the Court and Fortune.* In this, truly there's nothing that is not very ordinary, and 'tis but too natural for every person to love his Profession, and what contributes most to his Advancement and Preferment. But this is very strange, that intelligent Princes do sometimes abandon their Interests to wed other mens, and are indulgent to the Jealousie or Ambition of their Ministers of State, to the prejudice of their Affairs. Behold two memorable Examples, th' one drawn from our History, th' other from the *Spanish* History. *Henry the Second* was without doubt a Prince well instructed in th' Art of Reigning, and when he came to the Government of the State, very capable to conduct it, his Prudence and Valour equally shined in the first years of his Reign, and his Fortune prevailed above *Charls the Fifth's*; and it may be said, That th' Orient of his glory was the Couchant of th' others: After his Victories obtained in all places by his Arms, and Triumph in his Artifices, as we shall shew in another place, he saw the Course of a happy War suspended by a Truce, which Crown'd the good Success with great Profits, and an incredible Reputation. But as the things of this world cannot stay long in the same condition, and that the favours of Fortune are not fixed; or that as men have accustomed to be weary of their proper felicity, and to love the change of good, it happen'd, that *Henry* did not stand firm in that posture, which th' Heavens seem'd t' have chosen to make him happy. After the promotion of *Paul* the Fourth to the Pontificate, th' Ambition of his Nephews heated immeasurably th' hatred he naturally bore to the *Spaniards*, and put it into his head t' endeavour

deavour a League with *Henry*, to drive the *Spaniards* from *Naples*, Book I. and to conferr it upon a Son of *France*, with very advantageous Conditions, as may be seen in th' Articles of that League : The thing was very difficult, and it was no small affair to engage *Henry* in an Enterprize which offended his Conscience, in the manifest violation of publick Faith, and was evidently hurtful to the State, in making it put forth of th' Haven, whither it was arrived with so much Honor and Profit, and t' expose it again to th' infidelity of the Sea, and to the danger of Tempests. Moreover, *Henry* had so good a sight, as to discover th' Apparances wherewith they endeavour'd to blind him, and had in his Council Persons, that were proof to the Subtleties of th' *Italian* Wits, and to the Force of the Spirits of *Lorrain*. But the *Caraffes* and *Sirs* of *Guise* laid their Batteries to break the Truce, and the *Queen* was assaulted from all parts, and by all sorts of Engines, to perswade the King to condescend. The Proposition at first was ill received, for the Reasons alleg'd; the *Constable* of *Montmorancy*, principal Minister of State, and principal Favourite, opposed it courageously and constantly; the *Marshal* of *Brissac*, an able man in business, and a great Captain, presented Remonstrances from *Piedmont*, which were capable to perswade all that were capable to submit to Reason, and give way to Truth; and there was no apparance, but that Reason and Truth should prevail in th' Understanding of *Henry*, upon the Matter of their Contradictions:

But they did not prevail, and what one of the *Caraffes*, who was then at Court, could not obtain by th' Authority of the Pope his Uncle, wherewith he was armed; what th' Address and Eloquence of the Cardinal of *Lorrain*; what the Credit and Reputation of the Duke of *Guise*, who was second Favourite, and the *Constables* Rival, could not obtain, the Dutcheſs of *Valentinois* carried; and that Lady, whom the *Sirs* of *Guise* had gain'd into their Interest and Alliance, was the Devil that had taken absolute possession of the King, and forced him to yield after a long defence, and to consent to what she would have done, or rather to what the *Sirs* of *Guise*, or the *Caraffes* did desire, though it justled Honesty, and was contrary to the Good of the State. Time made discovery of th' Imprudence of that Design, and broke the Charm which Reason could not defeat. Our enterprize upon the Kingdom of *Naples* failed, so soon as it was Embarqu'd, and we received Affronts instead of making of Conquests; *France* that was unfurnished of her fairest and best Forces, and of the most of her Moneys, to give them to *Sir* of *Guise*, found it self weak to resist the Storm that came thundring upon *Picardy* by *Flanders*, and being not fore-seen, because it was secretly raised, made the more dangerous Impression in the Surprise. The *Constable* was overcome and taken prisoner before *St. Quintins*, and a little after the *Marshal* of *Furnes* defeated near *Graveline*. Though *France* was astonished at those two great Blows, it was not beaten down, and those interwoven ill Successes, instead of choaking the Kings Virtue, raised it, and made him

Book I. him think of the Means of Return to his former Condition, and to withdraw with Honour from that ill posture his Imprudence had cast upon him; The King for that purpose recalls *Sir of Guise* from *Italy*, where he left none of his Reputation, though he made no progress there, who was no sooner arriv'd in *France*, but he took *Calais* from the *English*, and *Thionville* from the *Flemings*, who all obeyed one Master. These great Beginnings were the presages of a company of greater Successes; and there was place for belief, that the conjunction of Duke *John* of *Saxen* Army to ours, which was very fair, would bring back to us the Victory, whereof our Enemies seem'd to be in possession, and would render us with interest our lost glory, under a Chief so valiant and so wise as the Duke of *Guise*. But a Design, as imprudent, to make Peace, seiz'd on the King, as that which prevail'd with him to return to the War: And though according to all the Rules of Civil Prudence, and to all the Maxims of Reputation and Profit, he should have continued the War, though it had been ill begun; it was staid in the strength of the prosperity that did accompany it, and Fortune was repel'd that press'd to be favourable unto us: He that expos'd so generously the Motion of an unjust War, was th' Author and Instrument of a pernicious Peace, and gave a pregnant Example of th' ordinary humor of the greatest part of the most eminent Servants, to second th' Interests of their Masters when they concurr and agree with theirs, but quit them readily when they disagree; and when it cannot otherwise be done, secure their particular Interest to the Damage of the publick.

The Glory of the Duke of *Guise* hath long made the *Constables* heart to ache, and he perceiv'd that the Dukes Genius had th' Ascent of his, and that the Elevation of the Dutche's was his Descent and Decadency; The *Constable* by vertue of the Peace, how disadvantageous soever to *France*, labour'd to withdraw from the Duke th' opportunities the War had given him of Advancements, and of making further progress in th' Affections of the King, and in th' Esteem of all *France*; He regain'd also by the same Means his Liberty, which enabled him to put a value upon himself without patience, which is a Virtue that is not of great merit, nor of great eminency in the Civil Life, and resum'd the Place which he held before in the Direction of Affairs: And so *Henry*, in being too compliant to th' covetousness of a Mistress, and to the jealousy of a Favourite, made a Peace and a War unseasonably, and gave up to Love and Friendship th' Interests of Royalty, and the Duty of his Charge, which were incapable of Alienation. His Father understood it much better, and express'd a much stronger Passion for his Country, when prest to receive his liberty upon exorbitant and ruinous conditions, he protested, *That he had rather die in Prison, than receive a Maim'd Crown, and to leave his Successors a Lesser Kingdom than he had received from his Ancestors.*

The Second Example is of *Philip* the Second, whom all the world knew to be so desperately taken with the love of Sovereignty, and with

with the Good of his Affairs, that he pardon'd not his own Blood, Book I.
nor the Life of his onely Son, upon th'Advice was given him, that
he studied Mischief, and was to pass into *Flanders*, and there t'Esta-
blish himself; Nevertheless this Prince, so Amorous of his Great-
ness, and so Jealous of his Interests, hath declined sometimes from
that strong Inclination, in favour of his Ministers of State, and to
indulge their passions to his prejudice; When the *Flemings* began to
rise against him, and t'open that famous Scene, where hath been spilt
so much domestick and forein blood, *Marguerita Princess of Parma*
their Governess reduced them, partly with Gentleness and Ad-
drefs, partly with Justice and Arms, to a reasonable good Acqui-
escence: But Tranquillity being not well settled, nor all the Winds,
which might trouble it; fully appeased; It was propos'd in the
Council of *Philip*, what was fit to be done in that Exigency: The
Council was equally divided, and as it were torn into two opposite
Factions; the Chief of th'one of the Parties was *Roderigo Gomez*
Prince of Eboly, who had for Followers the Duke of *Feria*, a good
equal Instrument of Peace and War, and *Antonio Perez*, no less fa-
mous for the long and hot persecution he suffered, as for the Charge
of First Secretary of *Spain*, which he had long exercis'd: *Gomez*
was dextrous onely for the Cabinet, and such Affairs were more in
his Element, than the War; But his best Quality was, th'Inclination
Philip had for him, and th'Art, whereby he adjust'd himself dex-
trously to all th'Apprehensions, and to all th'Humours of his
Master.

The Chief of th'other Faction, was the Duke of *Alva*, whose
Name carries in it self Reputation and Lustre enough, without giv-
ing it any other Addition to make him known; His Adherents were
the Cardinal of *Spinola*, who formerly had so absolutely governed
Philip, that he was called the Monarch of *Spain*, and *Granuelle*
Bishop of *Arras*, who nourished always Warlike thoughts under a
Prelates Robe, and had a particular Revenge for them by whom he
had been ill handled, and Renouncing his Administration, forced
Philip to Recall him. The Duke of *Alva* was Improved in the Ca-
binet Counsels, and dextrous in th'Intricacies of them: But his prin-
cipal Talent was the War, as the great Theatre of his Virtue; A
Person, more considerable to his Master for the Services he had ren-
dered, and might render to *Spain*, than Acceptable for the Condi-
tions of his Person, who being of a Proud and Severe Temper, was not
beloved of them for whom he had done good.

Upon the Relation then, which was sent by the Dutchess of
Parma of the state of th'Affairs of *Flanders*, the Chiefs gave their
Advice singly, and Declared in shew and with Coloutable Reasons
for the good of *Philip*; but in Effect, and bottom of their Intentions,
Answerable to their Passions and particular Ends. The Prince of
Eloby fearing, that if *Philip* went for the *Low-Countries* to compel by
force the *Flemings* to their Duty, and to return them by Arms to
the

Book I. the yoke they had cast off, the Duke of *Alva* would be in great esteem with the King, by reason of the Necessity of his Service, and draw the greatest part of Gallant Persons, and the best part of the Court, in Relation to his Charge and principal Command of th' Army, rejected absolutely the way of Arms, and Adviseeth that of Sweetness, and to permit the Little heat of Inquietude, which remained in the Rebels, to go out of it self and without violence; But the Duke of *Alva*, who saw that the Peace had almost put him out of work, or left him on the Stairs, whilst *Gomez* staid at the Feast, maintained, that Nothing, but the Sword and the King's Presence could Cure the Disease of the *Flemings*, and that the Power of Rebelling was to be taken from the Rebels to secure from future Rebellions, And cut down the Tree at the root, to hinder the boughs from growing and putting forth.

Philip enclosed between these two Contrary Opinions, and seeing clearly through th' Intentions of those two Counsellors, loving *Gomez* with Passion, and esteeming *Alva* to his Merit, forgets his Maxims, and departs from his own Inclination, which was the Good of his Affairs, to content the Passion of them, by a Moderation that was fatal to him; He resolv'd then for the satisfaction of *Gomez* to stay in *Spain*, under pretence that his Presence was necessary to keep the *Moors* to their Duty, and hinder his Son *Charles* to disturb in his Absence; and to comply with th' Indocile and Imperious humour of the Duke of *Alva*, He constitutes him Governour of the *Low-Countries*, and gives him the Command of an Army capable to subdue them, in case of a general Revolt, and to force to submission all persons that oppos'd him: *Gomez* found his Reckoning plentifully in being the chief of the two Parties, and remaining the most powerful of the Kings Council, was in some sort superior to the Duke of *Alva*, who ought to receive Orders from the Council, and as to the Duke's Actions, could give what countenance he pleas'd to them, being not cleared before the King's eyes: The Duke of *Alva* also had cause to be content with the King's Design, to send him Commander of so powerful an Army, and to exercise a great Charge in a Country, where no person was above him, and where he should be Arbiter of the destiny of a great number of people, and of seventeen fair Provinces.

But th' Interest of *Philip*, and the Laws of good Policy, required, that no Regard was to be had to th' Inclination of *Gomez*, nor to that of the Duke of *Alva*, and that he should have gone in Person, and with a good Army into the *Low-Countries*, to confirm the Tranquillity, as yet unsettled, and to dispense Rigour and Clemency according to the disposition of Spirits, and exigency of Conjunctions; Or if it was not expedient for the King for important considerations to go from the *Escorial*, and to break the chains which ty'd him to *Spain*; He ought not to have recall'd the Governels from *Flanders*, who might easily have finish'd what she had happily begun, and had

no need for that End but of a small encrease of Forces to render her Book I.
Administration a little more fearful than it was to the *Flemings* ;
who had in other Things Love and Reverence for her Person.

By these Examples you may see, how hard it is for the Counsellors of Princes t'enter their Counsels free from particular Passions; since th'ablest Princes and most interested, are sometimes struck with contagion, and spoil their Affairs by Compliance. It follows not, but that the persons whereof we have now spoken were Great persons, though sometimes they committed faults, and that their Lives were excellent Looking-glasses for them that Govern, though the Glasses were not without spots; There are Illustrious Reigns, as Glorious Temples, and Magnificent Palaces; And though great effusion of Riches have been made, and choice of the best Architects of the world to build them, some errors have been found in them. And the Things of Art have that in common with the Natural, not to be in all parts perfect. As in th'Oeconomy of the Manners of Men, Reason doth not always hold th'Ascendent over the Passions; but that Passions sometimes take it above Reason, and what is of the Dominion of th'Understanding, gives place to what is belonging to a Beast; So, though Princes oblige themselves as strongly as they can to represent the persons of Princes, they cannot forbear many times to act the persons of particular Men, and to cherish th'Inclinations of Nature above the Duties of their Charge; Immutability from Good, is not of the Lot and portion of this miserable Life; And Constancy unshaken, but by some great change, is, in my sense, one of the greatest Wonders of the world; There is no Soul so mean, that is not capable of some fire, and of some strein of Heroick Virtue; but there's none so Heroick, that can maintain without slackning the strength of the flight, which it hath taken, and hold all things under it without ever coming under them: such Souls as approach nearest to this state, and rise and fall, whatsoever happens, less than other Souls, are certainly the Noblest and Fairest of all Souls. And that Equality of Conduct, such as may be gained in this Life, is more admirable and of greater price in it self, though not of so great pomp nor of so great profit, as the Science to manage War, to conduct Negotiation, and to govern Empires.

The second Rule, which Princes ought t'observe in th' Use of this severe Justice, whereof we draw the Picture, is, That as God doth not punish sinners at th' instant they have offended, nor permit his Thunder to break upon the first crimes of Men; Sovereigns also ought not to hasten t'extreme Remedies, and take Arms so soon as they have receiv'd an Injury; They ought to consider, that of all Employments and humane Enterprises, there's none, wherein Precipitation is so dangerous as in beginning a War, nor wherein more passages are to be founded, or more ways known before the War be undertaken. They ought to remember, that besides the sad Necessity, which is inseparable from the most Innocent War in the

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world,

Book I. world, to devour a great number of Goods and Lives; There's none, wherein the Revolutions are so suddain, and the Conclusions so uncertain; A Wheel moved with violence turns not down with more swiftnes, what was above; The Sea is not more unfaithful, nor changeth her calm with more promptitude; And th' hope of Labourers is not so often deceived by the sterility of Harvests; That the prosperities of Arms are subject to change, and th' Entries of War are belyed by th' Issues; That after many Fires kindled, and Tempests raised; After a great quantity of spilt blood, and wealth devoured; After a long Circumvallation, the High way to desolation and ruine; 'Tis of Necessity, that the Lifts are to be re-entred, or a Return made to the first posture of Peace.

Fourth Discourse.

That Justice is to be observed in the Form as Matter of the War; That Faith is to be kept with Heretiques and Infidels; That Christians have just Cause of Warring with the Turk without making use of the pretext of Religion.

TO Avoid so dangerous a Precipitation, and not t' Engage herein t' ill purpose, and hoise sail to the Wind out of season, 'Tis not sufficient to know that the War is Just, which is to b' undertaken, but that 'tis Necessary to b' undertaken; And 'tis the good of the State, which a Prince undertakes in this occasion, more than any other Interest; 'Tis of Importance, that what is honest and profitable march together; and that the whole Motion of the War ought to turn upon those two Poles. But the Mischiefe is, That this second condition is not always, as the first, in the power of Princes, and that there's no certain Rule or Proof establish'd to b' assured of it, as of th' other: Some light therefore shall be given to s' obscure a Matter, and some Addressees communicated to prevent wandrings in a Country so little known, when some thing hath been said of Justice; ~~But~~ what concerns it? In the first place, I say, that 'tis necessary it Reigns, if it may be over the whole Extent of the War, and expatiate it self over the Accidents, as Matter of the War, and over the Form, as the Matter of Military actions. For Example, to speak a word of the Manner and Form, wherewith they ought to be conducted; For there are Matters, whereof I will treat to the bottom, and others which I will but lightly touch: For certain, 'tis unworthy of a Man of courage to foul his hands in the cold blood of his enemies, and a most shameful thing for the feet to tread upon what the hands have beaten down, or to take away the life from him who demands it. Heat and Choler ought to be contained within the bounds of Victory, and ought not to be carried beyond it, unless of necessity to be done, which happens rarely, t' assure the

the Victory, or in Right of Revenge, to give no quarter to them, who Book I.
would give no quarter ; And permits that Plunderings be destroyed
by Desolations, and Fireings by Combustions. There are neverthe-
less, some actions, wherein Revenge ought not to be taken, and 'tis
unlawfull t' Imitate Robberies and Sacrileges, or to give th' En-
emies inhumane Deaths by their Example ; there are Laws, which are
called the Laws of good War, which the Marshal of *Brisac* hath
heretofore made so famous in *Piedmont*, that they ought to b' obser-
ved, and made an Act of Justice, according to th' Intention of the God
of Armies, and not a pure Violence and a manifest Breach of the Right
of Nations, following the suggestions of the God of this World and
of the Prince of Darkness, T' use expressions of the Bible.

'Tis true then, That a Priuce ought not to Draw his sword, but
when Justice puts it into his hand, nor Handle it, but under some
form of Honesty and shew of Conveniency. 'Tis also true, that h'
ought not to confound what is Honest and what is Profitable, be-
cause they are not the same Things, nor blend two Distinct qualities,
as some of th' Ancients and Moderns have Done. Th' occasion of
growing Greater, and the facility of Conquering, ought not to tempt
a Prince, unless he may Inlarge with a Good conscience and Con-
quer Lawfully. Such a Moderation will be esteemed more Co-
ragious and Magnanimous than any Act of valour, and no Victo-
ry can be so Fair and of so High a price as that which is gained up-
on himself.

But to depart from general Termes, which are too Wild and In-
definite, and to descend to particular Considerations, which are more
instructive and pressing than the general. In the second place, I say,
That care is to be taken not to judge of the justice or injustice of an
enterprize by th' Event, or to call it Bad or Good as it shall prosper
and have the Winds Propitious or Contrary. Let him Observe
with Aversion th' Expression of that sottish *paniard*, who following
the party of the Commons raised against *Charls* their King, writ to
a friend of th' Adverse party ; That the gain or loss of the Battel,
to be fought the next day, would declare, who had the Right of his
side, and that the Mark and Reward of the Justice of the good party
would be the Victory. Let him abhor th' Advice th' Admiral *Cha-
stillon* gave to the Prince of *Conde*, To make no Difficulty of bre-
aking the Treaty, whereby he had obliged to go out of the King-
dome.

If the *Sirs of Guise* Retired from Court of purpose to charge the
Kings Army, which they had laid asleep, with th' hopes of Peace and
Confidence in their promises, would the Victory make his Cause
honest and his Armies just ? and all other Justice ridiculous if it fell
to the King, and all other Reason vain ? If that be true, as it may be
true, and if *Davila*, who reports it be not deceived, It were rightly to
understand *Machiavelles* Maxim, Not to be wicked at Halves ; And
to know how to satiate Malice : It were some what more than to

Book I. few the Foxes to the Lions skinn. It were not to make Warr in th' Ordinary Way, but with poysoned Armes ; 'Tis then a prefixed point and a Constant Maxim of the Moral and Politique , That as a true Measure cannot alwaies be taken of the Prudence of an Enterprize by the Good success , so true Judgment can never be made of th' Honesty of an Action by the Good success, nor the Justice of a War by the Victory that may Crown it.

In the third place, I say, As there's no War of so strong a Necessity, and that hath th' Outside so specious, as when Piety is joyned in it to Justice, and th' Altars Defended in maintaining our Interests ; To Interests God in these Designs must be avoided, unless he be truly interessed ; As to imitate *Ferdinand of Castille*, who did much Worse than take Gods Name in vain, for He ever Employed it to give Colour to th' Evil which was beneficial to him ; And his fears had been very much troubled to palliate their Ambition and Avarice, If there had been no Religion, Infidelity or Heresie in the World : It ought not also to be believed, as some have perswaded themselves, or Endeavoured to perswade Princes, That the goodness of th' End , to the Glory of God, or the Salvation of Souls, can rectifie the Means, which are Ill in themselves, or that the Venome or Malignity of a cause, is Corrected or tempered by th' Antidote of a Good and profitable Effect, as shall be shewed hereafter.

In the fourth place I go on and say, That though a Hearty Submission is to be given to th' Authority of them, whom God hath placed in th' Highest Administration of Religion, and in th' absolute Direction of Consciences ; They must not, nevertheless, b' obeyed in all things, as they do not pretend unto it ; nor believe, that they can give License to do Ill, and disingage us from th' Obligation of the first and second Right of Nature. If *Ladislaus* King of *Hungary* had resisted the Legate who perswaded him to break without Cause, or without other Cause than Conveniency, the Peace made with *Amurat* Emperor of the *Turks* , He had not permitted himself to b' abused by that pretended Power, which the Legate assumed, r' untie the knot the Right of Nations had tyed ; He had not lost his life at *Uarnes*, with the loss of the Battel ; And *Amurat* had Reason, when in the midst of the Fight and Heat of the Charge, the Victory seemed t' Incline of *Ladislaus* side, to call *Jesus Christ* to the punishment of a Crime committed against him, and to chastise th' Infringer of a Treaty, wherein his Name was used to confirm it. If *Henry* the second had followed th' Advice of the *Constable* of *Mountmorancy* and of the *Marshal* of *Brisac*, who perswaded him t' observe the Truce made with th' Emperor, which the suggestions of the *Sirs of Guise* and of the *Dutchess* of *Valentinois* diverted him from, under the pretext that the *Pope* had given him a Dispensation for it, He had not Expiated that Infraction by th' unhappy success of his Armes within and without the Kingdome, and by that Long and Heavy chain of Evils, wherewith *France* was after fettered.

Religion

Religion is not descended from Heaven to destroy the Virtues she finds on Earth, or to Demolish Society, the most admirable Work that Reason hath brought forth, in over-throwing Faith its first foundation and principal Basis; That, if she forbids Commerce sometimes and Communication with Infidels and Heretiques, 'Tis when that Communication may be Contagious to th' Understanding, and Dangerous lest th' Errors and Vices be transmitted and pass Joynly with the Things permitted. And this is not so much a new and positive Right, which Religion hath Introduced, as that Ancient Command of the Right of Nature, *T' avoid th' occasions of Evil*, which she renews; or rather, 'tis that vast and unlimited Command which she gives and applies to a particular Use and to a certain Matter; But though the Generation of Men be since torn in pieces by beliefs and customs, yet General Laws are left unto them, and a common Right; and since Infidelity or Heresie impede not Sovereigns from being Lawful Lords of their Estates, nor Particular Persons to be proprietaries of their Goods; and by consequence, that th' use of Commutative and Distributive Justice b' equally open, and the Commerce for Temporal things, whereof they have need amongst themselves, permitted to all Princes and to all People, *To Christians and to Infidels, To Catholiques and Heretiques*, The Catholiques, as making profession of a more Heavenly Doctrine and of a more Innocent Life, are obliged t' observe more Inviolably the Laws, and to maintain more Religiously the Privileges of their Nation than any People; To give no example of Infidelity and Deceit, which the Wicked may rebound upon Religion, and to make that fair Evidence of the sanctity of their Belief, to shine alwayes in the sincerity of their Actions. Not to sink too deep upon a Matter, which I handle fully in another place, I will content my self in relation to what I have now said, to place here this Argument; To declare the Necessity of Keeping faith with Heretiques and Infidels; as that with all them, with whom treaty and commerce may be had with a good Conscience, Men are bound in Conscience to perform things promised, when the Treaty is made, without fraud and violence, and without Just fear, which falls into the Souls of Valiant Men, and leaves them but a Lame Liberty. This Conclusion streams so naturally and necessarily from its Principles, that there's no Need of other proots t' Establish it, nor of other Lights t' Evidence it.

And yet, as there's no day so Fair, that is not over-cast with some Cloud; so this Truth so Cleer and so Conformable to Reason, hath been expos'd to th' Art of Sophisters: But who knows not, that this Depravation of Judgment hath proceeded from an hot and blind Zeal, which many times ceiseth upon the greatest Doctors? or from a base and prostitute Compliance to the wills of Princes, who would not stick at Perjury, If it might serve their turn, but would not publickly appear in it, lest it should Disgrace them; so, this Doctrine truly, which came into the World but by Chance, hath not appeared
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Book I. by day, but by the violence of some causes, which have thrust it on, and hath ever disappeared with the causes that produced it. And *St. Lewis*, whose Piety cannot be questioned, but by impious persons, was not stricken with remorse, when he had treated with the *Sarazens*; And they that make use of such means, would be very sorry the like were offered them: As they who have conceived, though falsely, no better thoughts of the Truth of the Religion they profess, and believ'd it was permitted them to do the like in their time under the same pretext; The force and weight of this consequence shall be examined at large in another place. If to this truth it be objected, That what is promised to Men, obligeth not more strictly, nor ties a more indissoluble knot, than what is promised to God, wherein, 'tis certain, the *Pope* may dispense some occasions for important causes: it may be answered, That the *Pope* may do it, and may discharge th'observation of the Vow of a good thing for another of a better condition or equally good; But in this He doth but discharge his Charge from God, by virtue of his General and Particular Commission, to seek always what is most for his glory, and for the greatest good of Souls; he doth but manage God's Interests; but aid in setting a value upon the Talent of the Faithful, and to be the good Husband and prudent Dispensator of the Benefits and Graces of his Master, whereof the Bible speaks.

That to change a thing of small, for a thing of greater price; 'tis to gain always by the Exchange, and to receive what is superiour in value and goodness to what was quitted; 'tis to be a good Steward for God, t'Accommodate himself to the Necessities of Souls, and t'exercise a reasonable Indulgency; 'tis t'observe th'Intentions of his Master, and the sweetness of his conduct; 'tis to act the disposition of that generous Creditor, wh' exacts not in rigour of his creatures what they owe him, but grants them always the composition they desire of him, and demands no more of them than what they can pay him conveniently, and without violence. But as to the Rights and Interests of Heretiques and Infidels, they have not, as the World knows, constituted the *Pope* Master or Arbitrer of their concerns; wherefore he cannot ordain or dispense any thing to their prejudice in matters of Treaty, confirmed by mutual Oathes, and of common Right in th'affairs of Civil Commerce and Temporal Policy.

I pass from this Matter t'another, wherewith 'tis naturally enchain'd, and say in the fifth place, That Religion alone, whether it be for the planting of it in places where 'tis not known, or for the defence of it in States where 'tis persecuted, cannot be the foundation of a Just War. That if the Writings of some holy persons are fill'd with Exhortations to Christians to take Arms against the *Turk*, and if the Predicants endeavour every day t'enflame them with that holy zeal; If *Popes* have heretofore published *Croisades* for that subject; And if the greatest Princes of *Christendome* did Enroll themselves,

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selves, and have rais'd for that purpose great Armies ; It must not be believed, it was done directly t'exterminate the Sect of *Mahomet*, and t'abolish th'*Alcoran*, that Arms were taken up ; or that it was to constrain the wicked persons to change their Religion, or to force Christianity into their spirits by the sword : That is much estranged from the condition of our Religion, and very contrary to th' exercise of the Primitive Church, which oppos'd patience onely to force, and permitted no other blood, but the blood of her Children to be spilt, when it was oppress'd, as shall be declared in another place, where the proofs of the second branch of the Proposition propos'd shall be produced. 'Tis then to the Limits of the Temporal Interests, that the War against the *Turk* is chiefly restrained ; 'Tis directly against the Power of th'*Ottomans*, and not against th' Errors of *Mahomet*, that *Christians* draw their Swords, and for their Commission they have Right Valuable Titles ; Th' Usurpations made of the fairest Members of their Empire, and the spoiles of so many Estates, wherewith the Tyrant adorns himself, are subjects which put it out of question, that they may Lawfully Arm to Recover their Losses, and to Recolect the Pieces, which are taken from their Interests : And 'tis his constant design, and his Religion by a perpetual Vow binds him to labour the Destruction of Christianity ; and the spirit of that barbarous Religion, adorned onely with Rapines and Murders ; with the Proscription and Confiscation of the Lives and Estates of all them, who are not of their Judgment, do give a just power to *Christians* not onely to defend themselves, when they are assaulted, and to resist the storm when it Beats on that side, but also t' assault, and to prevent, if some other Consideration do not oppose it. That if the Course of the War and the Lot of Arms make it sometimes necessary for a Christian Prince to conclude a Peace or Truce with the *Turk* ; He ought Legally t'observe Conditions, so long as the *Turk* observes them on his part, and to make no breach, if th' other do not begin or prepare to break. But if the *Turk*, who keeps his Soldiers in Exercise, and his Men of War in Action, and coasts the Countries of his Neighbours to gain some prey, doth rush upon the State of a Christian Prince in Confederacy with the *Turk*, any Christian Prince may relieve him with a good Conscience, and Act Lawfully against the *Turk*, without being a Violator of his Faith, or Desertor of his Word ; For, besides the Duty of Charity, and that general Obligation, which the Right of Nations Imposeth to protect the Weak against the Strong ; 'Tis Matter then onely of Defence, which is ever permitted, though it be Indirect, and ceaseth not to be Just, though it be Anticipated. And to speak the truth, what else doth a Christian Prince, in repelling the Violence made t' another Prince, than prevent what is prepared against himself ? Than make haste to Quench the Fire which burns his Neighbours House, before it lays hold on his, and assists to make Rampars and Barricadoes against the Sea, which might over-flow his, after it had drowned the
Country

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Country of his Allies ? But whilst the Design of Ruine reposeth in the *Turks* breast, and that th' Execution of the Vow is suspended, the Conditions of the Treaty made with him ought inviolably to b' observed, without the least infringement of the Zeal of publick Commerce, and of Faith, the principal Bond of the Civil Life.

'Tis easie t' infer from what hath been said ; That Christians in general have but too many formed Subjects, and too many prepared ways t' Enter, when they please, upon a just War against the *Turk* ; and there's great cause of Astonishment, as I have observed in the first Discourse, That instead of turning their Arms against an Enemy that is not less Powerful than Irreconcilable, they convert them against themselves; they thrust them into their own bowels, and make themselves drunk, if it may be permitted t' use that Poetique boldness, in the blood of their Brothers.

Fifth Discourse.

*That the Defence of Injured Reputation is the subject of a just War ;
Wherein that Reputation consists ; That the King could not with
honour avoid breaking with the Spaniards, who had
caused the Town and th' Elector of Treves
to be surpris'd, being under his
Majestie's Protection.*

'T Is not to be conceived that the defence of a Country, whether Direct or Indirect, in the Manner as it hath been circumscribed, should be the sole Title of making just the Arms of a Prince ; There are also other Titles and other Considerations which put Arms Lawfully int' his hand ; There are other wounds t' heal, and other breaches to make up, than the Ruine of his Subjects ; th' outrages acted against his Honour are to be revenged, and the spots wiped off which are imprinted upon the Reputation of his Crown, as one of the Pillars which bear up his Greatness, and therefore to be carefully preserved from Blows, that it fall not in contempt. But in regard some may equivocate upon this word Reputation, and take upon that occasion a subject of dangerous consequence ; it may not b' unnecessary to clear and distinguish it, which may be done by a very easie distinction, and in a manner is already declared.

'Tis certain then, that there are two sorts of Reputation peculiar to States, and which may be ranked in the number of Goods that belong to them ; th' one consists in th' Esteem which the strength of a Country hath gained from abroad, and in the glory of it ; this is formed of the Merit and good fortune of the Prince ; of the Number and Virtue of his Subjects ; of the Duties of Subjection, and of the Rights of Sovereignty ; in th' Extent and Situation of the Country ; in the Fecundity of Mines ; in Fortresses, and Arms, and Ammunitions

munitions of War. Th' opinion then which streams and flows from these things and other the like in the spirits of Men, Is the Reputation I speak of, and whereof no question is to be made, but that the Prince ought to be very Jealous of it, as of a thing which sometimes is of great Consequence, when his forces are weak, and which some have compared very aptly to the credit of Merchants, which maintains them in honour and lustre, though they b^e effectively poore, and gives them often Means to fill up the Concealed emptiness of their affairs, and to repair the weak Invisible condition of their fortune ; But when a Prince is wounded in this kind of Reputation, and his Forces are cryed down ; when His prosperities are lessened, and disgraces Encreased ; when Endeavours are used t^o obscure this Lustre of greatness and force, wherewith th' Eyes of Strangers ought to be dazzled, and to draw a Curtain before th' Exterieur face of his Affairs ; 'Tis not the subject of a just war ; The reason of it is, that Strong Remedies are never to be used but against Extreme Evils, nor Violence acted against accidents that may be Over-come by Industry ; There ought to be some proportion betwixt th' Arms of Resistance and those of Assault ; When the combat is made by the forces of Wit, there's no Reason to bring the forces of our Body for defence ; False Reports are scattered abroad to our disadvantage ; Make the Truth shine in all places, which is contrary to them ; Vigilancy and Ingenuity need not fear such Artifices, and the designs of our Enemies will have a chance answerable to that of Mines, which do no hurt, if Vent be given them.

But there's another kind of Reputation and another sort of Honour, wherein the Prince ought not to suffer the least decay, but pursue a Reparation with Armes, if it may not otherwise be had, when offended. To speak it in a Word, 'tis the Dignity of the Crown, and th' honour of Sovereignty : There are certain Privileges and Prerogatives, which the Right of Nations have fastned unto them, that ought not to be touch'd without Resentment, or Violated or slighted without opposing it by force ; Injury, for example, done to an Ambassadour, whole person is Holy and Consecrated by common Right, and by consent of all people, and of all Ages, is the subject of a Lawfull War ; And *Francis* the first cannot be blamed for breaking with *Charls* th' Emperour by reason of th' Assasinat of *Rignon* and of *Frigese*, his Ambassadors, whom the Marquis of *Gast* had caused to be Murdered, and could never have justice, in what posture soever he put himself to Demand it ; The Breach of a Treaty, which is the mark of Disdain thrown at a Prince, or of the small consideration had of his Country, is another Title of just War ; That if the Persons of Ambassadors are Inviolable, and ought universally to be respected, because they are the Living Bonds of Commerce, and th' Animated Instruments of the correspondency of Princes ; By the same Reasons Treaties which are th' Inanimate Seals and dead Impressions of that Commerce and Correspondency, ought to be holy ; and the breakers,

Book I. thereof corrected with the punishment the Right of Nations permits to be inflicted ; And as one of the Princes will take advantage of the violation of the Treaty th' other promises to perform, so by a necessary Consequence th' other must receive Damage, and that Right and faculty is obtained thereby to take reason of that Injury with the sword in th' hand, if it be not given Civilly and in a friendly Manner. It may be seen by this, That the War which the King made to Duke *Charles*, is no Unjust violence, nor the Conquest of *Lorraine* an unjust Invasion, since it hath been drawn on himself by the violation of many Treaties made with *France*, and who can take it ill, if he have not lost all sense of good, and the Taste of all that's just, That what was left in pawn and for security of a thing promised, should be forfeited, when the promise is not performed ; and the depofite Detained when the condition for restitution is broken ? But I purpose to Treat fully of this Matter in the second part, and t' undraw the Curtain which I d' here leave, at least if the condition of the time permits it, and prudence adviseth it.

Observe another Essential point wherein Reputation is offended, and for which Armes may lawfully be taken in hand, and War made. 'Tis to redeem a Prince from vexation for the hatred is born us, and because his Interests have some Conjunction with ours. The King had just cause to defend the Duke of *Mantoua* by his Protection and Arms against the design of the *Spaniards* to strip him, even for that Reason, that he was born the Kings Subject, and that they could not suffer a *Frenchman* to be a Sovereign Prince in *Italy*. How deeply the honour of *France* was Wounded with that stroke, and what shamefull Reflection was made by that Attempt upon the Dignity of the Crown, There's not a person but may judge of it without Explanation. There's not a person if he be not altogether blind with passion for *Spain*, that can approve of their project t' establish in all places their Dominion and t' extend their Monarchy ; They shut the Door into *Italy*, and forbid Entrance to the *French*, what Justice soever opens it, and what Right soever calls them thither. And they who Take at all hands and Usurp on all sides, will not permit the true and Lawful Masters t' Enjoy their Lands, or gather what belongs to them, if they are friends to *France*. The Reasons the King had, are remitted to another place, and th' other Motives which excited him t' Espouse the protection and undertake the defence of the Duke of *Mantoua*.

Honour obligeth also a Sovereign, besides other duties which may invite him, to make the protection given to a weak Prince to be esteemed, and to cause the Sanctuary offered to an unfortunate Prince to be respected ; I will explain this proposition by an Example. After that the late King of *Swede* was Entred *Germany* with that Extraordinary success which accompanied his Virtue, and that He had taught the House of *Austria* to know that it was not Invincible, and had astonished it with the blows received from th' hands of a Conqueror ; Its greatest Care was t' avoid a Ruine, and as in a wrack to get some planks

planks whereon to save what remained of goods and hopes. The King Book I.
wh' alone could put a bridle upon th' Ambition of this brave Prince,
and Resist the Tempest which threatned the Catholique friends of
that disconsolate Family, offered them his Royal protection, and
the shade of his Authority, without which there was no Safety nor
Recovery for them.

Th' Elector of *Treves* beleev'ing He was not bound to perish with
them who probably could not save themselves, nor hinder him from
falling, but to fall onely for Company, accepted of his Majesties pro-
tection. After that, who makes question but the King in honour and
Reputation was obliged to defend th' estates and the person of that
Elector from all th' Enemies Excursions, and to turn all his Armes
upon the *Suedes* in case they did not consider as they ought his pro-
tection, but should violate his safeguard? And in truth the King was
so Religious in this behalf, that He considered not what was Profit-
able in comparision of what was Honest, nor the good of his Affairs in
comparision of th' honour of his Word. That his Majesty entred up-
on some Coldness with the *Suede*, when he delayed the satisfaction
was desired, and to restore a place the King was obliged, after the
Suedes had taken it, to cause to be rendred to th' Elector. That if
the King had reason't use such a proceeding in favour of his Allyes,
and t' hold forth to them some Little Rigour upon that occasion; 'Tis
visible that he had cause upon Stronger terms, of Justice, and Duty
to break with them who gave such Advices, and Lent their Armes
not onely t' undertake upon th' Estates of th' Elector of *Treves*, but also
t' attempt upon his Liberry, and to make a Prelate and a Sovereign
Prince their Prisoner, with whom they had no cause of dispute, nor
had offended them, and against whom they had not declared any War.
What can they allege to sweeten this Violence? and what play-
ster can they find to disguise and make plausible so heinous a bulli-
ness? If it were for the Love of us, and for the protection we did grant
him, that they opposed an Innocent Person, It must be confessed
that the hatred they boar us was not onely very Implacable but also
very Unjust, since it labours to kindle a fire and exhale Venome even
out of our good Actions which are not opposite to them; since it
cannot permit us to Protect them whom they could not Relieve, and
secure them as shelter against the storm wherewith they were first
beaten; since they deny us even the duties of Charity, which flow
from the Right of Nature, and would take from us all sorts of cor-
respondence with other Princes, and even the power of doing good
offices.

It being thus, I leave it to the Judgment of the free and unpassi-
onate Reader if they or we in this have begun the Quarrel, Who
were the Breakers of the peace at *Veruns* and the first Authors of
the War; Have they not done the same things, as if they had broken
th' Express clauses of that Treaty, when they have violated that for
which ther's never any Treaty, and which is sufficiently understood

Book I. without being put into a Treaty; that one Crown ought not attempt against th'other, nor offend it in the person of them it protects and shadows with its Authority and Arms; since they have not respected our Allies, and what the Peace of *Vervins* laid Quiet hath been Inviolable in relation to them; Can it be said, that they have not been the beginners of this Quarrel? that they have not lighted the Torch of the Dissention of the two Crowns, and begun the War by Surprises and Robberies which have been continued openly upon us, and after declaration of it? If they do remember the Moderation of our Conduct, and the Favour shewed, that was not less than of Life, to th'Imperial Troops which had surpris'd *Heilderberge*, they may see, that we have always avoid'd with great care to Break with them, who have no Love for us, and having no fear for the Forces of our Enemies, have always apprehended the Ruines of the War, and the Deluge of th'Evils that attend it; That if they will say, they have not immediately assaulted us, and did not directly underrake us, and that they look'd onely upon th'Elector of *Treves*, whom they had right to challenge for departing from the protection he was bound to receive from th'House of *Luxemburge*, whereof they are Heirs, and for repairing to a forein protection, which is a kind of Disobedience; That 'tis the Crime they have pursued, and their offended Honour they would repair at the Charges of him that was culpable; Observe truly the Foundation which bears and sustains all the Justice of their specious Cause; behold the Pretext wherewith they do palliate it; behold the fair Colour wherewith they do paint it: There's nothing nevertheless easier than to ruinate that foundation, than to destroy that pretext, than to rub out and deface that colour; for which it shall be true, as they say, as 'tis not, and that there were no Example, as we are assur'd there is contrary to what they pretend, that th'Elector of *Treves* is under the protection of the House of *Luxemburge*, which they have annexed to theirs; dare they deny, when that protection is unable to defend it, and the Fort not so well guarded as to secure it, but that 'tis lawful to repair to a more Powerful protection, and to seek a stronger Sanctuary? Doth a first protection exclude a second? Is there but one Sanctuary open against persecution? and may not Society be made, and an Intelligence formed betwixt two good things of the same Nature? The City of *Geneva*, hath it injur'd the Canton of *Berne*, and wounded the Dukes of *Savoy*, when it sought ours, and put Her self into Harbour and under the protection of this Crown? Did the King prosecute and pursue to violence the Duke of *Mantua*, for obtaining the protection of the *Venetians*, at the same time he did enjoy his Majesties? And have the *Venetians* made War with him, or Incursions into his Estates, or Invasions upon his person, for having so often implored the *Pope's* protection? And there's nothing more compatible or more sociable, than a permanent and ordinary protection with an extraordinary, which doth not continue, but passeth and ceaseth with the danger that

that procured it; And a Prince is very Unhappy, or very Imprudent, who is reduc'd to a single Expedient of Conservation, which may fail, and to get out of a croud and violence of affairs, knows but one Issue, which is not always Free, and hath but one Gate whereof he is not always the Master. Book I.

But since the Safety of the People is the Sovereign Law of Governours, and that other Laws of States have neither spirit nor life, but what is derived to them from that Principal; who can imagine that a Prince had made a Treaty, by the which He had bound himself to perish, as often as another Prince had not the power to protect him, and should embrace a Dependency, by which he renounced all the means of providing for the Conservation of his Subjects, which should oppose the pleasure of th'other Prince? Such and the like Treaties should be rather Prodigies and Monsters to be exterminated out of the Politique, than valuable and lawful Acts that had proceeded from the Authority of Princes, which is not instituted to destroy and to demolish States, but to divert the fall, and repair the ruines. I add to this, that the word of Protection sufficiently declares, what th'operation and use thereof ought to be, and having the safety chiefly of Estates, and good of the persons protected, for its Mark and End; It ceaseth to be what it was, if it falls into Impuissancy, and if it hath not force nor vertue to conserve and to defend; It changeth its kind, and passeth into another Nature contrary to hers, if it become a principle of Ruine to them whom it ought to serve for relief against ill fortune, and if it degenerate into Poison instead of being a Preservative.

Let's conclude, Since th'House of *Austria* was not in a condition to warrant any person from th'ill weather wherewith it was beaten, and that even they who were Embarqued in the same Vessel with her were in danger to be lost, if they did not quit it, th'Elector of *Treves* did not offend th'House of *Austria* in making Addresses to *France*, that was his onely safe Haven to secure him from a strong Wind and an angry Sea; I say further, That He did not onely an action of Duty towards his Subjects, in diverting by our mediation th'infallible desolation which hung over their heads, or an act of Piety towards the Church, in securing by our means th'Holy Places and Sacred Persons; but hath not a little merited from th'House of *Austria*, if it were capable of some sense of Acknowledgment, and would be sensible of a good Turn, by hindring his great and formidable Adversary by his fore-sight and address, from growing greater by the Conquests of those Estates, and to make a dangerous conjunction of the *Rhine* with the *Moselle*, and at the same time t'extend his Arms into *Flanders* and *Germany*; And therefore let the World judge upon these true and pertinent Facts, if that Elector hath deserved th'usage he hath received for his love to us, or whether the King could pass by such injuries without resentment, and declaring a War to them, who have so highly offended in the person

of

Book I. of one of his Allies, and in the sight and knowledge of all *Europe*.

This Example, and many others which I shall speak of in their place, will make it clearly appear, that the King did not engage in all the Wars, wherewith miserable *Christendome* hath been vexed for many years, but for the protection of the weak against the stronger; and that th'House of *Austria* by its untameable Ambition, hath broken the Bands of publick Concord, and kindled the fires, whose destruction it may feel, as well as any other House, before its burning be quench'd; God alone knows, what Event shall be of so many Armies raised, and where th'agitation of so many provoked Nations shall determine. But the King ought to have this satisfaction and rest of conscience, that he hath not been th' Author of these lamentable troubles, but hath done his Endeavour to divert them, spared nothing to stop them; and having laboured much, and taken much pains to establish and settle the tranquillity of his Kingdom, Had not a livelier and hotter passion than to procure th' entire felicity of his people, and to see that peace flourish he would have given them, by th' abundance, wherewith he had crown'd it, had he been Master of the Hearts of Strangers, and Arbitrer of the Destiny of Things.

Sixth Discourse.

That a War ought not onely to be a Just, but also Profitable for him who undertakes it; Some Rules, which Princes should observe when they relieve their Allies.

AFTER Discourse of the Causes, that make a War Just, and handling of that Thorny Matter, that hath, yet, some need of culture, which may be given it in its proper place; The Profit of a War must be handled, which is th' other Condition that ought to accompany a War, and without which a Prince ought not to engage, though it should be, not onely full, but filled up with Justice.

It follows not, nevertheless, that this Profit ought to be present and sensible; nor is it in th' order of things to Reap in Sowing, nor that the first Prescriptions heal a sick person, or that a Picture be finish'd at the first Draught: God alone, in giving the first stroak, can give the last hand to his Works, and finish in beginning; yet, he hath not always done it, and he made use of six days to create the World, and to produce and publish the pieces of that Marvellous Frame.

As for the Works of Men, Time and Patience are necessary before th' End can be obtain'd; there are many degrees to clime before they can get to the Feast, and ordinarily 'tis with them, as with those of Nature, where the Generation of the most Excellent things, is but the sequel of a precedent Corruption; It sufficeth then, that it be a future

future Utility, to th'end it oblige t' act, and that it be known for Book I. such : not with Infallibility and Certitude, which appertains onely to God; But so far as one may judge of it by the disposition of Second causes, and by the Rules of Civil prudence, which is all that can be required from the conduct of Men, and from the chance of this Life. Th' Advantages which ought to return from the War made in favour of Friends and Allies, and from the Relief is afforded them, shall be here treated of; as for others, either there's no difficulty in them, or what shall be said of this may clear the Troubles that be in it.

I will give thee some Rules then, which will discover to Princes the ways they ought to take, and the Rocks they ought t' avoid, when they engage in such Aids; The first Rule is this, That th' Utility they ought to pursue and propose to themselves before they take up Arms in favour of their friends, ought not to be Mercenary; not of the nature of what Merchants seek for their Traffick; th' ultimate End of their Ambition, and the principal Object that stirs up their Industry, is the Encrease of their Riches; they hazard Little to gain Much; they do like the Husbandmen, who sow not onely to recover their seed, but to multiply it; and 'tis not, to shut the door of their house upon Poverty, that they labour, but t' introduce Abundance; The Reputation also of able and intelligent Persons in their profession concerns them not, or very little, they think onely of being Rich, and Profit makes up all the Glory of their Exercise, and all the Price of their Industry. There have been Princes in all times, who have acted in that Manner, and have been possess'd with that base passion; that the greatness of th' Object and Enormity of th' Evil, have caus'd to be called, Illustrious; but they that are enflam'd with the Love of true Wisdom, and with the Desire of a fair Reputation, ought to sail with another Wind, and take a very different way.

Let this then be a constant and indubitable Principle, That a Prince ought not to be perswaded to take Arms in favour of another Prince by the spirit of Avarice, and by a greediness to grow Greater at his charges, t'enrich himself by his Spoils, and to keep the Securities, which th' other Prince hath put into his hands for assurance of his faith, or to serve him for retreat; If that were modeable, no person would be found, that had not rather try th' Hazard of Arms, and runne of the Fortune of Wars, whose Events are doubtful and uncertain, than expose himself to th' infallible Loss of all his Estates, or of a great part of them. That as there's no question but the Wounds received in the heat of the War, and from an Enemy to whom one doth the worst he can, are less offensive and grievous, than those that are received in Cold blood and from a Friend; so the Losses received from them, who ought to secure us, are of worse taste and of harder digestion, than those occasioned by such persons, as have declared the War against us, and have undertaken to ruine us. And the late King had reason, after th' Arch-Duke had besieged Calais, and

Book I. and the Queen of *England* had sent to offer him her Sea-Army upon exorbitant conditions; to refuse that relief, and to command it to be told her, *That he had rather his Enemies should strip him than his Friends.*

By this Artifice, the *Romans* have partly marched to the Conquest of the World, and from People that made War against one another, they possessed the Country of him who call'd them to their aid, and subdued th'others Country; 'tis by that means, the miserable *Grecians* finished their destruction, and that their divisions and disorders delivered them up to the ambition of that People, who found no better Expedient to determine their differences, and t'extinguish their partialities, than to take from them the power of Quarrelling, and to deprive them of their Estates, which were the subject of all their hatreds. 'Tis with this pernicious Artifice, and deceitful Charity, that th'House of th'*Ottomans* hath seized upon some Members of th'Empire of Christians, and caught into their Nets the fairest part of *Hongary*. The passage of Protection t'Usurpation, is so pleasant for the Conquerors, and their Limits so near, that the most Religious stick not at leaping over them, and to confound the two Actions; in distinguishing of them onely by Name, and giving the shadow of difference for what in effect is but the same thing. In Christendom a Family is to be seen struck with the same disease, the design of Monarchy, as th'antient *Romans* were, and th'*Ottomans* are of this time, that hath marched, to th'uttermost of their strength, upon their steps, and plaid, among Christians, the like game; Their custome hath been to take part in all affairs, and to run to the least noise of discord they hear amongst men, and to the least flame of diversion that appears to them; they never observed a Neutrality whilst War was amongst their Neighbours, and considered not so much the Justice of the Party they made choice of, as the Means to gain by it, and thereby to get some Pawn to keep, or make a Conquest; their protections have been the impositions of many Yoaks; and where it hath not imposed a Subjection, it established a Dependency, not much lighter, and though less grievous, yet assured them who depended upon their power, and held them by as strong and indissoluble Bands:

There's no need of going out of *Europe*, or this present Age, to confirm this Truth, by antient and forein Examples; *Germany* and *Italy* have been the Theatres, wherein it hath evidently appeared in our time, and entred in pomp and glory. In two the most remarkable actions which have been there represented, a more illustrious example of this nature can hardly be seen, for the novelty of th'Incidents, and for the rarity of the Circumstances, which are there encountered, than that which hapned in the Succession of the Duke of *Cleves*, claimed by the Duke of *Newbourg*, who was protected by the *Spaniards*, and by the Marquis of *Brandebourge*, whom the *Hollanders* assisted. But in regard I have an exact and ample Treaty of this

this Affair in the third part, I send the Reader thither, to speak of a- Book I.
 nother Example which *Italy* hath furnisht ; after that the succession
 of *Mantoua* and *Montferrat* fell to the Duke of *Nevers*, against which
 the *Spaniards* planted their Batteryes, and did their uttermost, to ex-
 clude him ; To attain then their End and to hit their mark, They
 made use of a double Artifice, and planted both pieces in Battery ;
 The first, in stirring up the Prince of *Guaftalde* to intermeddle with
 that succession, and to oppose an Apocryfal and Imaginary pretension
 to the Cleer and indubitable Right of the Duke of *Nevers*, They En-
 deavoured, if what was published then in *Italy* be true, to raise even
 a Bastard of the precedent Dukes, named *Tacimbe*, to make him En-
 gage in the Quarrel, in purging him from the Viciousness of his birth,
 under pretences that had some Colour, but which Justled directly a
 Constitution of the Council of *Trent* received in *Italy*. But Lets
 leave the business of *Tacimbe*, and hold us to that of *Guaftalde*, which
 admits of no question, as publisht to the Eyes of all *Europe*, and raised
 a scandal, as far as *Constantinople*. The second Artifice is, That they
 abused the Name and Authority of the Emperor to Compel the Duke
 of *Mantoua* to put his Forts in Deposite into the hands of a Commis-
 sioner, who was their subject, till the Emperor had declared his
 Judgement upon that difference, and done Right to the interess'd Par-
 ties ; That's to say, to give time to the *Spaniards* to form a Multi-
 tude of Incidents and of Tricks to stretch and perpetuate the Matter
 in Contest ; That the Length of the pursute, and despair of the success
 in a Court where the Parties were Judges, might force the Duke of
Mantoua to Consent to their Will, and to yield a visible Title of
 Justice to a pure Oppression and an effective Violence.

The design then of the Aye they offered to *Guaftalde*, or that he,
 if you will have it so, had implored from them, did not extend to the
 raising him to the Sovereignty of *Mantoua* and *Montferrat* ; But to
 make themselves Masters of *Casal*, and to deliver themselves of the
 Jealousie that Fort gives them ; and from the Apprehensions it gives
 to the state of *Milan*, for which they have so much Love and Ten-
 derness ; And that their Injustice might reign in all parts, and be dila-
 ted as the soul, in all the body of that affair ; And that there might
 not be Principal or Accessary, but should taste of its venome and of
 some Tincture of violence ; 'Tis to be Considered, that before *Guaftalde*
 had attempted this Action and formed his Complaints at the
 Imperial Court ; whilst the Prince of *Mantoua* paid there his ne-
 cessary Duties on his Fathers behalf, and made his requisite submis-
 sion ; Whilst they gave him fair Words and Hopes at *Vienna* ;
 When the greatest part of the World believed, That the Emperor
 offended not Willingly, but of Ignorance, and that he Was not Ea-
 sily induced to do it, but under the Species of good, and would not
 oppose the Right of the Duke of *Mantoua* ; The Governour of *Mi-*
lan ruined the *Montferrat* with an Army, and was within Little of ta-
 king *Casal* by intelligence of a Treaty, which he had long practis'd

Book I.

for the buying of that place; They staid not there, but having hoisted sail to the Wind, they were Engaged to pursue their Navigation, and to try the Conclusion of that Course with honour which they had begun with so little success; when they saw their stroak fail; That the war might be drawn int' a damageable Length and gain in th' End nothing but shame and displeasure, the Rewards of unjust Enterprizes, when they are not happy; They Caused other Mines to play, and pressed the Duke of *Mantoua* t' Accept a Recompence for *Cassal* in the *French* County or in *Cremonois*, not Comprehending therein the *Citadelle* of *Cremona*, That's to say, That of an independent and absolute Prince, as he Was in his Country, They would have made him in another Countrey their Subject or their Dependent, and offered him in Exchange, a Limited Revenue, and Lands liable to be taken at all hours, for a Sovereignty above price, and a fortress almost Impregnable.

And the great pressures they have since made, and th' Extream Heat they have since expressed to put a value upon the pretences of the Princess of *Stigliana* to *Sabionere*, was not to leave her the free disposition of that place, But to keep it under her Name, and to make it serve as a Bridle and as a *Citadelle* to three or four Neighbour-states, in the midst whereof, 'tis Inclosed; Did they not also in a strange Manner protect the Prince of *Monaco* 'gainst the pretensions and Designs of the *Genoese* to that Principality? And in What did that protection at last Terminate but in an heavy and severe yolk which oppressed him, and compelled him to shake it off, to cast himself into th' Arms of a more just power and more humane domination? Such and the like Examples, which I could bring in great Number, make a sufficient Discovery of the Genius of that Nation, and of the boundless Avarice, which transports them openly to Ceize upon other Mens Lands, or with subtilty to Enter upon them by a breach or postern gate.

Seventh Discourse.

The second Rule which a Prince ought t' observe in Relieving of his Friends.

THat notwithstanding, what hath been said; A Prince that undertakes a War for the Love of his Neighbour may Lawfully pretend t' a Reembursement of part of his Charges, If the person whom He relieves hath sufficient Means, and may take Cautionary Towns for the security of his Disbursements, or for the Retrait of his Troops, or for Engagement of the Faith and Constancy of his Neighbour: For truly, 'tis very just, That who spares not his own blood nor the life of his subjects to secure his friend from servitude, should find Him liberal of the goods and substance of his subjects to preserve

preserve in some sort his Protector from damage, and pay willing- Book I.
ly some of the Charges for the Remedies that save his Life; My mean-
ing is, in Case it may Conveniently be done, and that th' estate re-
lieved hath not been so much plundred and emptied of victuals and
Riches that little remains for life and sustenance, and that the least
Emanation would serve to make it yield up the Ghost and force it
to th' Extremity of th' Evil against which it took up Arms; Other-
wise, th' Aid given Would not be so much a civil Charity, as the
Supercery of a Robber and of a Pyrate. And by killing the sick per-
son to draw away his disease. When Matters are in that Condition,
a Prince ought to Content himself with the glory that shall re-
bound upon his Name and Conduct in protecting his Neighbour
from oppression, and with the benefits that redound to his states in
breaking the designs, and hindring the growth of an Ambitious Ma-
ster, wh' having devoured the Meaner, would infallibly thrust at the
greater persons, and respects his first victories but as Means and brid-
ges to pass him over to new Conquests.

I say the same, and for the same Reasons of those States that have
but one fortress, wherein all their safety Consists and all their hopes;
It may be received and kept till th' End of the War, as a bridle and
a security for the faith of him to whom the Relief is given, but not to
be retained after the Peace, for the Charges have been laid out to
Conserve and hold it; for that were t' exact the life of a Man, for
having furnished him with Victuals, and speaking generally, To seek
th' End for the price and Reward of the Means which have been
Contributed to produce it. And the Prince ought to secure t' his
power the Land and goods of his friends Subjects, Whereof he is
not Proprietary but the Dispensor and Steward, and is bound to hus-
band them with more Circumspection and retention than his own
Lands and Goods.

'Tis then an Act of singular prudence and a Maxim of subtle po-
licy to take hold of some important place for security of the Moneys
that shall be Lent and advanced for th' Affairs of Allyes or Friends;
The *Venetians* have often practised this prudence, and many good
pawns have remained in their hands for Want of Redemption, and
and th' Owners have been at last Constrained to pass unto them the
Revenue and Inheritance. So did *Queen Elizabeth of England*,
when after the Defection of th' *Hollanders* from their Obedience to
Spain, she relieved them with Money and Men, and received *Flush-
ing*, *Brill* and *Ramachin* in deposite, till she should be reimbursed of
the moneys lent them, which did not happen till the Reign of King
James, her successor. 'Tis to b' ignorant of King-Craft and t' offend
shamefully against th' Art of Reigning, not to demand places for the
Retreat of his Troops in case of Disgraces, and to want an Haven for
Harbourn, when the Wind is Contrary. The Necessity of this is En-
tire and inevitable, to retain by that Bond, and hold with that An-
chor, the Will of them, who are relieved, lest they Change and

Book I. faulters after Engagement, and leave us to the mercy of Winds and Waves, and Accept without our Consent Advantageous Conditions that may be offered them, in fear of our Armes, and to disengage them from our Allyance. The *French* have often struck against this rock for want of Care, and have fallen into these Ambushes for want of foresight; It cannot be believed, how often their facility and excessive freeness have drawn infidelities and Defection from them, who did not seek our Protection or implore our Aid, but t'agree with their Enemies to greater advantage, and to make at our charges and under the shadow of our Armes a more Honourable peace. This Unhappiness happened twice to *Henry* the second, and *Othavus* Duke of *Parma*, whose defence the King undertook against th'Emperour and the Pope, who would have reduced the Duke to his shirt, made his peace with them without his Majesties knowledge and participation. And in the League which *Henry* made with th'Elector *Maurice* and th' other Confederates of *Germany* against *Charls* the fifth; The King having intelligence of their Treaty of Accommodation, and seen Evidences thereof, which th'Elector contrived t' our Disadvantage, was compelled to decline the faults he had begun in accepting of Ostages, instead of Places, and to seize upon the City of *Mets*, with the consent of the Bishop and people, as shall be discovered in the Treaty of Monarchy, for his security against the *Germans*, who came to fall upon him, and to stop the Torrent was ready t' over-flow his Kingdome.

The present Elector of *Saxe* a most Worthy Branch of *Maurices* Blood, and a true sprout of such a stock, did not degenerate from the faith of his Parent; For hee did not onely imitate by the peace of *Prague*, the supercery that was done us, at the peace of *Passau*, but the Coppy surpassed th' Original, and without finding such advantageous Conditions as th' others were; He did not onely abandon the two Crowns, which had spilt so much blood, and consumed so great Treasure for the Liberty of *Germany*, but conspired against them, and Consented to fight them, who Laboured Earnestly to Deliver the Captives from the Chains they seemed to be in Love with, or to compel them to Happiness who had not the Courage to be happy; However, 'Tis certain, that the fair peace of *Prague*, wherein th' Accepters of it believed to be secure without running the danger of losing themselves, as in the Continuation of the War they made to th' House of *Austria*, had not been concluded, if the two Crowns had not engaged in th' affairs of that Countrey; And th'Emperor Had not Accorded unto them that respite from their ruine, if H' had esteemed himselfe powerfull or happy enough to resist at one Time their forces and Ours; That if th' Interessed Persons are the better for it, and are at shelter from the Tempest they feared, they d'ow us th' obligation, which they have very ill acknowledged; That if their Peace be Captious and unsetled, as 'tis, and if they have need, as there's no Question of a General peace, which is the seal of the Security and
Duration

Duration of particular Persons. 'Tis also from the two Crowns; Book I. they ought principally to receive that good, and 'tis from them that the Perfectest Cure ought to be made of the *German* body; Instead of those Lucid Intervalls, which particular Treaties do produce, and of those deceitfull Recoveries which give Ease for some time to the sick Person, but take not away the Cause nor the Root of the Disease. 'Tis for this Reason, that they Act with so much Contest and Heat; that they raise such great Armies, and support so great an expence; and they may be assured that Armes will never be laid down till the Work be Accomplished; That they have not made so great expences to lose them; And How painfull soever the Carriere be wherein they are engaged, They will never stay till they have past through it; And either all Apparences are false, or the time is not far off, and *Christendome* will very shortly see a Discovery of the good it desires, though it have yet some Convulsion fits to suffer, and the Light it expects, will quickly appear, though it hath also some shadows to disperse, and Clouds to dissolve.

Th' Ealiness spoken of hath not been pernicious to the *French* alone but also to the *Dutch*; They have been also mistaken in their March into this Kingdome upon the single faith of its Confederates; And if that Prodigious Army of *Reiters* which marched to Over-run our Nation under the Conduct of the Duke of *Bouillon* and the Baron of *Dona*, had surprized some strong place; It had not been so ill handled, as it was, in its Retrait, nor Feasted the plains with so many Dead bodies, as it left there; It had been at least admitted to Capitulation for the safety of its Return, and for a part of the Money which had been promised in rendring what it held to its Lawfull Master.

The Queen of *England*, of whom W^e have already spoken, was much better Advised, and her Condukt more prudent, when she would not open her Purse nor Command her Army t^e enter *France* in favour of the Prince of *Conde*, Till h^e had put *Havre of Grace* into her power, and delivered up that famous Haven, to give her Entrey at pleasure into this Kingdome. 'Tis true, That I cannot excuse the pretence, whereby she seemed to receive it, nor approve of the Declaration she published, That it was not to break Amity with the Kings, with whom she desired t^e entertain a good Correspondency, that she had Commanded it to be taken; but to take it out of th^e hands of his Rebell Subjects, who might keep it t^e his prejudice, and to Conserve it for him, during his Minority, and till he might Act personally in his Affairs, and hold th^e Helm of his state in his own hands, which was handled by persons who were not, as she said, Prudent enough or Well enough disposed.

This Playster was too gross, and this Masque too visible to Cover and disguise so visible an Usurpation, and the Council of the King had reason to declare her fallen from the Conditions of the Treaty of *Cambray* in Relation to the business of *Calais*, since sh^e had violated

Book I. lated it in aiding the Rebels t' his Majesty ; and that sh' had been the Receiver of places , which they had taken from him. The Duke of *Savoy*, Grand-father to the present Duke , endeavoured t' exercise the like Charity towards *Henry* the Third, and render the same good Office to the Crown , when h' had seized upon the *Marquisate* of *Saluces*, for fear, as He said, lest *Esdiguieres* should prevent him , and untill the Troubles, which troubled us, were appeased , and that our Civil Tempests were allaid. The late King paid him that Charity , as a Debt of the Crown, so soon as h' attained it, and made him see, that Great Princes know how to force Little Princes to b' honest in spite of their subtleties , and t' ease them better than any Persons of the world, of th' Obligation they are under to make Restitution of unjust Acquisitions. The Method then spoken of, and for the Reasons alleged , to require places, hath been at all times familiar with Princes, who know how to Reign, and particularly with the *Spaniards*. But if the Duke of *Parma* demanded no place , the first IncurSION he made into *France* , and marched to secure *Paris* from th' Armies of the late King, without seeking any place of Security for his Retreat , but in the Forces He commanded ; it was for a more important Reason ; 'twas to blind the world by that shew of Liberty ; 'twas to leave an Impression that his Master sent him , not to fish, as 'tis said, in our Troubles, and to make benefit of our Disorders, as many murmured within and without the Kingdom , but onely to drive away Heresie , or at least t' hinder th' Ascent of it to the Throne, where none but the True Religion ought to sit, as He made a solemn Oath in the great Church of *Meaux* in the Name of King *Philip*. But he drew not long that breath of Generosity , and could never be perswaded to come to the Relief of *Roven*, till the *Fere* was delivered unto him and put into his Custody , which assured his Entry into the Kingdom and his going out. As to the rest, the sequel of time and course of affairs made it appear, that *Philip* made him take a false Oath, and had deceived his General to make him deceive others. The Duke of *Sissa* declared it sufficiently at *Rome*, when He could not hinder th' Absolution of the late King, nor his Re-union to th' Holy Chair , the Center of the Church ; He protested against it, as prejudicial to the Pretensions his Master had upon *France*, and the Charges expended to conserve Religion , and expel Heresie. It was therefore to the *Spaniard* an extraordinary Case, and an Exception to their general Rule , which they seldom break ; as the proceeding of the Duke of *Parma* in his first Expedition into *France*. For they have such an unsatiable Appetite after other mens Goods and Lands, and are so violently transported with that Passion, that they have not excepted th' Holy Chair , even at such times as they made a shew to relieve it. In th' Heat of th' Interdict at *Venice*, and when the Marquis of *Veillane*, Ambassador at *Rome* for the Catholick King, had oblig'd the Pope to cast himself into th' Hands of his Master , and t' accept of his Protection , amongst the things he demanded of his Masters be-
half

half for the Relief He promised him, which was but in Paper, and Book I. for that Evidence of Good, which was but in Ostentation; what He most insisted upon was, that *Ferrara* should be delivered t' his Master for the Retreat of his Army by Land, and *Ancona* for his Army by Sea; and the Count of *Fuentes*, who breathed nothing but Fire and Sword, and was the principal Promoter of the Troubles, had the boldness to demand *Charbonnieres*, of the Duke of *Savoy*, who was not interessed in the Quarrel, as he said, t' hold the Key of the Passage by which *Esdiguere* might descend to the Relief of the Republicque.

Eighth Discourse.

That the Conduct which the King hath observed in the Relieving of his Allies, is full of Moderation and Generosity; That the Conduct of some other Princes of this Age is not the same.

THis Subject may be wonderfully cleared and beautified by the Relation of the Conduct which hath been observed by four different Princes of this Age in the Relief of their Allies. The Manner is very different, though it hath been exercised upon the same Matter, and in the course of the same business, the troubles of *Germany*. Though there was no Power in *Christendom* uninteressed in that affair, and that did not represent some Person in that famous Tragedy. 'Tis certain, that the King of *France*, of *Spain*, of *Swede*, and the Duke of *Bavaria*, have appeared in them with more glory than others, and that their Policy was not less eminent than their Arms. But search being to be made in the third part into the most secret Motions, wherewith these Princes have acted, and what their Cabinet-Counsels have infused, of the most particular and remarkable considerations in that long and sharp War, I will beseech the Reader, to suspend his curiosity to that Edition, which shall follow this immediately. And we shall see, that *Spain* never moved but upon the same foot, and never failed but with the same Winds of Ambition and Particular Profit; That the *French* motions have been sometimes Slow and Irresolute, and sometimes Quicker, and directed to the General good of the Christian Common-wealth. But that the publick good was always its principal Mark, and th' ultimate End proposed in its Interventions and Arms.

As to the King of *Swede*, He could not truly with better Judgment or Symetry adjust the design he had formed for the Relief of *Germany*, and to take off the grievous Fetters th' House of *Austria* had imposed upon it, Th' Innate spirit of a Conqueror considered, or to make his spirit serve the Relief under a more specious and plausible conveniency. Consider him then in this High and Difficult Exercise, from his Landing in th' Haven in the Island of *Usdome* to the Plain of
Sutzen,

Book I. *Sutzen*, where he lost his Life without leaving the Victory t' his Enemies, who took his Life from him. The boldness of his Treaty with the Duke of *Pomerania*, t'establish himself in his Country, shall be represented, the valiant Artifice h' used to cause *Spomdau* to be put into his hands by the Marquis of *Brandenburge*; And after that *Tilly*, a famous Captain, was entred with strong hand into the Countries of the Duke of *Saxe*, and had promised to that *Electör*, unless he would be of the Party, t' expound unt' him the mystical sense of that saying, familiar with *Charls* the 5th, *wh' is not with m' is against me*. Consider the Prudence the King of *Swede* made use of in this occasion, by raising advantage from th' inevitable Necessity th' *Electör* of *Saxe* had of his Virtue and Fortune, against so fortunate and great a Captain as assaulted him.

At last, after that by gain of the Battel at *Lipsick*, and by the Defeat of th' old Troops of the League, H' had forced all th' Obstacles, and taken away all the Barriers, which hindred to penetrate into *Germany*, and th' Imperial Cities opened unt' him their Gates at contest, and the Princes of th' Empire crowded to b' on his side; It shall be seen how he gave them the Law, for whom he gained Liberty, and imposed a kind of yoke, which in time would have become heavy, and began to be born with jealousy. This kind of Policy truly is not the custom of all Princes, and enters as seldom into the Train of th' affairs of the world, as it ariseth rarely from Conquerors, and from those extraordinary Persons, who come as the King of *Swede* did, to change the face of things.

As to the Duke of *Baviere*, this praise is not to be denyed him, That being skilful in th' Art of making War, he gave not place t' any Prince of his Age in the Science of the Cabinet Council; and that *Germany* hath not born of a long time, more dextrous and knowing Persons, to give Motions to those secret Wheels and invitable Engines, which stir and cause to turn, what is most Heavy and most Immoveable in th' Affairs: And since his Art and manner of Acting may be reduced more commodiously into Practice, and drawn int' Imitation, than that of the King of *Swedes*, a longer and more particular stay shall be made upon his Conduct, than upon that of the King of *Swedes*; and all the Draughts and Proportions for th' Instruction of other Princes and their Ministers of State; the divers Persons he personated, and the different faces wherewith he disguised himself t' attain his Ends, and to maintain the posture gained by his Industry, shall be fully discovered; how he raised himself to th' *Electörat*, and maintained it, notwithstanding the *Spanish* Jealousie, th' Opposition of *England*, the Contradiction of the Protestant *Electörs*, and the Resistance also of th' Imperial Constitutions.

In giving frequent Jealousies to th' House of *Austria* by th' Hold he seemed to take of *France*, and then joyning more strictly with th' Empire, and tying the knot of their Conjunction the stronger t' his advantage, H' often prevailed over it; H' holds the power of it

to this day, without being holden by it, and hath so blended his Interests with theirs, that he can sever them when he pleaseth, and that he will do, when 'tis no longer good for him, or that it will be better in another place for his affairs. Book I.

When he was delivered by the death of the King of *Swede* of the greatest danger h' had run, and of the most furious Tempest that ever threatned him, He believed, that h' had no cause to fear any future ill times, and to speak the truth, so long as th' *English* were content to make Generous Deliberations, and to send Magnificent Embassies in favour of the *Palatine* House, it would not b' easie for that *Duke* to part willingly with what h' had received, not to depart with, but by th' highest violence of ill fortune; and the Necessity must be strong, if he could find no means of delivery from it, and all the Gates strongly shut upon him, if he did not escape at some Postern door.

As to *France*, to speak again one word thereof, and so permit some Draughts of her proceedings to pass by; it shall be represented entire and wholly, such as it stood in the divers occurrences of the Troubles; She will appear in their Birth and Progress as Mediatrix of the Quarrel, and Cause of the Conclusion of the Peace at *Ulms*, which had re-established th' affairs of *Germany*, and restored to th' Empire its first Countenance, If they to whom it served for shelter and plank of safety, had not broken it, and oppressed by surprise them, who believing themselves out of danger by the conclusion of the Treaty, and under the shadow of publick Faith, were unprepared for defence. Since that time, its action at *Languy*, and its Cares, have been faint in the behalf of *Germany*, and the Cabinet Contests, to which the frequent changes of the Ministers of State did ever contribute some obstructions to their resolutions, and the fire which the factious Religionaries kindled easily in its bowels, hindred the relief, till the *Mantouan* War was ended; then truly it began to return with warm thoughts and cares; and th' Experience gain'd in *Italy*, and the present constitution of things, having given her t' understand, that the Septentrion Wind was onely to b' apprehended in relation t' her self and Allies, She resolved t' assault the Spring of th' Evil, and to set, as 'tis said, th' Ax to the root of the Disorder, and t' act vigorously in that behalf, and to make its first attempt eminent in the Dyet of *Ratisbonne*; And that as *France* knew to make use of th' occasion of the King of *Swedes* entry into *Germany*, whither the Princes of that Country, suffering, or fearing oppression, had call'd him; as since of the Treaties that *Charnasse* made at *Berwalde* with the King of *Swede*, even to the Renewing of th' Alliance with the *Swedes*, which *Sir* of *Arvaux* made the year before at *Hambourge*; so she hath t' admiration, and with great dexterity managed two Interests. The first that most possesseth her spirit, was that of the Church and Holy things, which it espoused with hot and constant zeal. Whereupon I dare boldly say, that I hope to make it appear, there,

Book I. and in other places, *That the true Reasons of State do not justify the Maxims of Religion*; and that the same Authority which hath put a distinction betwixt the Secular and Ecclesiastick Powers, would have them bound up together in Amity, and their hands stretched out to th'aid of one another; That a wise Prince ought never permit their Harmony to be broken, nor the bounds, which sever, to be confounded. In the troubles of *Christendom*, and mixture of Parties of different Religions, which tear it in pieces, the King had not onely the care to put in safety the Catholique Interests, and to secure th' Holy Places and Sacred Persons, against th' Enterprises of such men as might have violated them; but his Conduct may be found less prudent, since for his Love to the Church he's sometimes quitted th' advantages, which he might have assumed with a good conscience, and was firm for the good of Religion in all things, where he might have safely taken his Liberty for the good of his Affairs; had he not strongly believed, that the small prejudice he did himself would be plentifully repaired by God, who suffers not a glass of water given in his Name to pass unrewarded; and would not onely accompany with his Blessings the justice of his Arms, but also crown his Piety and the Passion had for the things which relate unt' his Service; And to consider the Greatness and Number of them, which he had undertaken, and the long course of Affairs which had entertained him, It may be truly said, That a Prosperity less interrupted hath been seldom seen, nor a Reign that hath received from Heaven more propitious and favourable Aspects.

I dare all' affirm a second Truth, which adorns the Kings Reign with a particular Glory, and promise to make it out clearly, That w' have not onely made faithful Societies with our Neighbours, but protected th' interests of them, whom we were bound to protect; and have exceeded our Limits, and in some Cases, the King may b' accused t' have been Indulgent to the Business of Strangers, and too little sensible of the Necessities of his Subjects; were it not, that from the Good of his Allies Success, he makes an inevitable reflection of Good upon his own Affairs, and that in diverting the loss of his Neighbours, he conserves the Borders of his Country, and hinders th' Invasions of his Enemies; And were there no other Reasons, than that th' Evils and Sufferings of his Subjects might the sooner determine, as the Seeds of a permanent Prosperity, and to re-build the Temple of Peace, which was shaken, and trembled for fear of Ruine; it was necessary, that the War should precede that Holy and admirable Edifice; That in the Tragique and Common Misery which makes *Christendome* to groan, the King hath this Consolation, That the Guilty are the sole Authors of unjust Wars, and that the Firebrands are justly punish'd, but such are not to be condemned who suffer losses in the flames. But God and the World know, the Defaulters in the Quarrel, which at this day do exercise *Christians*; that the King engaged in it as an Assistant, and if his good Offices and

Prayers

Prayers had been able to resist the Violence which acted upon his Allies, h' had never drawn his Sword to defend them. And I will shew, that although all *Christendom* may witness, and his Allies taste the fruits of his Labours and Charges for their safety; since He was compelled to procure it by his Arms; He may be blamed with too great a Retention, and with too slow a Resentment for th' Injuries received in their Person, before he could resolve to repell them by force; He may be blamed, I say, for it, if the fear of avoiding and drawing upon his Subjects the Consequences of a War be blameworthy, or not willingly to descend int' an Abyſſe, from whence there's no ascent at pleasure, or to take the Flayl of Gods Anger in hand, whose strokes fall without distinction upon all sorts of persons, and strike down equally th' Innocent with the Nocent.

The *Reader* will excuse, if he please, this light Digression, which may not be disagreeable to him, and this little Interposition, which may give him some taste, and serve him for an Essay of what is prepared for him in abundance and bounty in the Sequel of this Work; And that he may judge of th' Equity and Freedom of the King's proceedings towards his Allies, whom He defends and protects, I will here say a word of his Generosity in the behalf of one of his Neighbours, whom h' had obliged t' his Power to be's Friend, wh' hath not omitted any Acts of Hostility against the King, and to render him all proofs of Hatred; and though he was engaged in many formed Conspiracies against *France*, and that it had no secret or publick Enemy, with whom He'd not declared or had Intelligence; and though he was guilty, as all the world knows, of breaking many Treaties, and of many Attempts made against *France*; yet so soon as he made shew of Repentance, and t' abjure the contrary Party, the King opened his Arms unto him, and re-established him in his Estates, with exception onely t' a few Fortresses, which the King would not commit to the Faith of so changeable a Prince, and to the flux and reflux of th' humours that perpetually agitated his Soul; That if this Prince was hardned in th' habitude of failing; and if th' acknowledgment of good received, nor hope of what was promised after the War, could retain him in his Duty, nor stop his moveable Spirit, there's great cause highly to praise the Kings Moderation and his magnanimous Spirit, in rendring Voluntarily what he might Lawfully have kept; And there's no cause t' accuse him of Facility and Imprudence, for being deceived, for that he made judgment of the *Duke's* Conduct by the Law of his Interest, as the most certain Rule to judge by, that Prudence affords; And there was no reason, that a Person in good condition, and in a way to be better, should destroy himself in a capricious humour, and chuse rather t' erre once more at the pleasure of another, and of Fortune, and float in th' Incertitude of what He might become, than to rest in a Commodious posture, and enjoy a Safe condition.

Moreover, 'tis of no use to dissemble or to speak but half the

Book I.

truth; Th'Event contrary the Presumptions raised, though very reasonable, have not deceived the Kings fore-sight, and the Dejection of Duke *Charles* did not surprize him; but shut up betwixt two Extremes, to run th'hazard of being deceived, or the reproach of the rejection of him, who did cast himself at his mercy, and implored his clemency, He judged it more honorable for him t'expose his Judgment to the first, than second Hazard, and to convince the world by such an infallible evidence, That he could submit t' any thing in order to Peace, and for remove of th' Impediments that did obstruct it.

Ninth Discourse.

whether it b' Expedient t' hazard the Remains of the Forces of a State, to Recover Reputation lost by some Notorious Disgrace; That 'tis not safe t' act alone, or to permit all things to be done b' others in difficult Enterprises.

THings being thus established, as they have been in the former Discourses, a Scruple is to be taken away, and a Difficulty cleared, which enters into the Matter to be treated of, Whether to repair the Reputation ruined by some infamous disgrace, and th' Honour abused by some notorious loss, The Prince ought t'oppose the fortune that oppresseth him, and put all his strength to resist the Ruines of the Violence, and t'hazard what remains of the Wrack, rather than conserve it beaten with ill fortune, and covered with shame. That which most sharpens this Scruple, and gives most colour to this Difficulty, is, That the Reputation of th' Affairs of State ought not to be less dear to the Prince, than Honour is t' every Particular honest man; And yet, since all agree, that the Wise as well as th' Ignorant conspire in this Judgment, that Honour is a Good which must be conserved, when 'tis gained, and recovered when 'tis lost, at the charges of Life, and that 'tis better to die Honourably than to live Infamously; Why should not the same Judgment be made upon the Reputation of the State? And will they not believe, That a Prince is obliged to maintain it, and to recover it without any exception of Means, and without reservation of Lands or Lives?

And it may b' observed, that the Reputation now to be spoken of, is different from the two others, already spoken of in the precedent Discourses, and 'tis of another value, and of another importance, than the first, whereof mention hath been made, which consists in the sinister Reports scattered b' Enemies, and in th' ill favour they raise against the glory of a Prince, and to the disadvantage of his Affairs, which is not, as hath been said, the Subject of a Just War; though the like offences done to Particular persons, and the like stains imprinted upon their honour, are but to' often the foundation and original of their Resentments and Quarrels; which makes

makes it appear, and I will say this by the way, That this sense of Reputation and Honour, wherewith the most Excellent Men of all Countries, and of all Ages have been touched, and which they've not only Authorized by their Precepts, but also Confirmed by their Examples, Cannot proceed but from a Spiritual Nature ; And this Privilege, which our Soul hath to raise it self above the Matter, and to despise not only the sensible objects which flow from it, but Life it self that Depends upon it, to subsist by that which is not born, but in the thoughts of others, and Conserved only in their memory, sufficiently shews, That sh' is of a more Exalted Spirit, and hath a fairer Birth than the souls of Beasts. To return to th' Objection made, I say, that there's a great Disproportion and a Notable difference betwixt th' Honour of a Particular person and the Reputation of th' Affairs of State ; That in the State, Reputation is a subaltern good to the real force, and a Means, which hath for its End the most Essentiall powers ; That this is th' Health of the body, whereof th' other is but the Colour, and that agreeable Light, which appeares without, from the good Constitution within, & darts into th' Eyes of the Beholders ; And 'tis of the same Concernment to a Prince, as I've formerly said, what Credit is to Merchants in order t' effective Riches ; And therefore, as what is Superiour in any order is never abandoned for what is Subaltern, nor th' End for the Means, which are Constituted for its Accomplishment ; As to destroy health for beautifying of the face, and t' hazard all our Lands to maintain our Credit, would be Condemned ; so a Prince would offend most shamefully against the Laws of Civil Prudence, and be not only a most unjust dispensator, but a very ill Husband of the Powers of the State, to deliver them up wholly to Fortune, and t' expose them wholly to th' uncertain and unfaithful Lot of Arms ; To support the sinking Reputation of Affairs, or to raise it when 'tis fallen to the ground, all he can do in General, and what he ought to do, if he be dextrous for th' Interest of the Reputation of Affairs, 'Tis t' Imprint in Men a great Opinion of his Virtue and Fortune ; To give as much as he can Relief and day to the good Successes shall befall him ; And t' Imitate *Romulus*, whom *Titus Livius* commends for his Admiral Address and Incomparable Grace in giving Value t' all his Actions ; And to raise it in the least part of his Greatness and Power. What Advantages will arise to the State from such Apparances dextrously managed, and from that light disperfed Artificially abroad ; What great Respect and Confidence in Friends these superficial things created from Opinion do produce, cannot fully b' exprest, and t' Enemies of Reservation and fear ; As of what great Importance 'tis, to sick States, for preventing th' obstructions of Recovery, and of Restitution t' Health, That it be believed they are in Health, and have also Forces for defence against Assaults, The two Principal parts of the Greatness of a State. But when Power and Reputation meet in Conjunction, and that some Notable Diminution of th' one, or th' other is to be suffered ; 'Tis better

Book I. better endured in the last, which may alwayes Spring again, and re-take its Glory, so long as the first shall subsist, but cannot long survive the Ruine of th' other; nor stay long above ground after its fall; And truly, 'tis not a New thing or Extraordinary to see Vicissitudes in the Reputation of Princes and States; There's nothing more frequent in the World, and there was never State that hath not suffered some Eclipse, and been Assaulted with some Ill success, that hath interrupted the Course of his Glory; But there may be a Resurrection when the Fall is on that side; A spot Imprinted in the Reputation of Affairs, is not a Spot that cannot be taken out; The first Considerable good Fortune that happens doth Efface it; And a Tree, which Winter hath stript of its Leaves, and left Naked, renews in Beauty and Flourisheth, as before, if it thrust out other Leaves.

But it seems that some Corruption is permitted in that part, That a fairer Generation may put forth; And 'tis certain, that the Glory of the *Romans*, was Livelier and more Entire, in that the Victory, after the loss of three Battails, and the sight of *Hannibal* at the Gates of *Rome*, remained unto them upon the *Carthaginians*, than if they 'd stop't them upon the Borders of *Rhone*, or at th' Entry of th' *Alpes*.

The Defeat of *Quintilius Varus* by th' *Almans* was not s' infamous to the Reign of *Augustus*, as the Revenge which *Germanicus* took, was honourable to the Reign of *Tiberius*; The Virtue of the Republic of *Venice*, was more admired, and did Dart out fairer Rayes, in their Return from the greatest stroak it received at *Gyradade*, Than if it had not received it; and in rising to its Ancient greatness, than if it had not fallen. And without flattering of the Kings Reign, and the present Administration, It may be said, That if it hath sometimes happened, yet but rarely, that some small storm of Disgrace hath fallen upon the Long Prosperity that accompanied his Armes; And if the Commanders have not alwayes Happily Commanded them; Fortune hath so ordained it, as well to conserve by those high Accidents the Right sh' hath upon all humane Actions, As to make the power of the State the better to be known, which was not shaken by shakings that had overthrown other States; And to make the Prudence, the Boldness, and Activity of the Conduct of the King and of his Ministers of State t' appear with the more Lustre and Glory; who alwayes made th' advantages the Common Destiny of War had given them, unprofitable to th' Enemies; who alwayes cut off the Wings of their Victory, and hindred them from Flying over the Limits of the same Field, where they gained it; And have so shut it up in the midst of a great Number of Good successes that preceded and followed on our part, That it may be said in some sort, that it hath Disappeared and vanished away, as if there had been no Victory. Before handling of th' other branch of Comparison proposed in the beginning of this Discourse, which is the sense of Particular Persons in relation to their Honour; Two other very Important Maxims shall b' added

added to what hath been already said in Relation to the Reputation Book I. of the State ; The first, That there are some points of Reputation Ambiguous, or Contested, and some Delicacies of Honour not sufficiently Cleered, or which are Called in Question, whereupon a Prince or his Ministers of State ought not to Contest opinionately, nor to debate Violently, when there's no Question then made of it, and that some Affairs are to be Treated and Concluded, As a Peace, an Alliance of blood, or a League, &c. For then Endeavours must be used to slide upon them with Dexterity, and handle those Thorns without pricking the Fingers. Queen *Elizabeth of England* did the like upon the Contest that hapned at *Bologna*, betwixt the *Spanish* Ambassadour and Hers, for the Precedency. Th' Expedient found was to Treat by Writing, and by Proposals, and Reciprocal Answers. The same Moderation was observed in the Conference of *Vervins* betwixt our Ambassadours and those of *Spain*, Ours were lodged there in such a Manner, that w^e had reason to believe, That the Right, Justice and the Prescription of Time out of mind had given us; was preserved unto us, and there remained to the *Spaniards* some Appearance and shadow, I know not what, t^o hide and Cover the Disadvantage they had received in th^e unjust Pretension that torments them upon that Subject, and entred into their Spirits with the design of Universal Monarchy.

But when there's no Cause to pass beyond it, or to labour for some Treaty necessary to the publique good ; Great Care must be taken of the Byassed Men, and to lose Nothing of those Rights in matters of Importance ; The Dignity of the State must not directly or obliquely be put to Reference, nor a Pretension of Equality admitted where the Superiority hath been gained. Such was the practice of *Pibrac* and *Ferrier* at the Council of *Trent*, who chose rather to Retire than t^o Assist at a Ceremony, where Precedency before the *Spanish* Ambassadour was not fully Accorded unto them, nor their Dignity sufficiently acknowledged ; And at the Wedding of the King of *Denmarks* Son some years past, *Sir of Arvaux* the Kings Ambassadour to that Crown, Prudently Rejected and without Reserve, All the proposed Means that left in the least Jealousie the Precedency claimed by him without Difficulty and Modification, above the *Spanish* Ambassadour.

It must not therefore be forgot here ; That there are sometimes little Delicacies and Formalities of Nothing, whereon th^e Agents of Princes our friends do ketch, and for which they cause Disorders ; And are the Cause, that whilst they amuze themselves in the Cleering and Debating of them, much time is lost to the prejudice of th^e Affairs of their Masters. And that the secret Acrimonies which have taken Root in th^e Hearts of those Agents, hold them alwaies divided, and occasion, that a good and sincere Correspondence is never formed amongst them ; That fierce and proud Spirits are subject to fall into these Inconveniencies, and particularly, when they begin t^o

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Book I. Act, and at th'Entrey to their Employments, they will publish it by some thing of Noise, and to gain Reputation by some Novelty, that obligeth the World to turn their Eyes towards them, and to speak of their Administration : But the Dextrous and Wise Men will divert, as much as may be, those stones of Offence, and avoid them, against which their Fortune may break and make Shipwrack ; And to speak generally, they ought not t'Engage, if it may b' avoided with Honour, their Masters in any Trouble, but Conceive that they have business enough on Foot without making of New matters, and Quarrels enough that arise from th' Incounters and mixture of things they do Manage, without th' Interposition of any Evil Humours, or of th' Imprudent or Undiscreet Conduct of their Ambassadors.

The second Maxim is, That the Love of a great Reputation, or the desires of great Profits, ought not so strongly to Possess or Transport us, as in Difficult and Long Enterprises t'act All for to gain All ; And t' admit of no Companion ; To be free from sharing the Glory of the Success, or to Divide with any Person the Conquest, which they would reserve to themselves. On the Contrary, It ought ever to be Conceived, That in th' Affairs of Great Importance too much Safety cannot b' used to make their Business prosper, or too many work-Men hyred to fix a Design, a thousand unexpected Accidents may Cross, and which Fortune hath a thousand Inventions to Destroy, and to Convert into smoak. I should never finish, if I did report all th' Experiences the World hath made, and all th' Examples History relates of this Important Truth ; There's no need of going from the present Time, nor from th' Affairs of *Europe*, to find out Lively and Sensible Instances ; There's before our Eyes, what passed this year in *Germany*, which cannot be Newer ; And to go a little higher, if after the death of the King of *Swede*, and the Loss of that Incomparable Prince, from whose Discipline did issue no less Famous Captains, nor in less Number, than from the Discipline of *Alexander* the Great, The *Swedes* had Acted with *France* in better Correspondency, Their good Successes which began to Decline in *Alsatia* by the raising of the Siege of *Constance*, and Blocking up of *Brisac*, had not expired at *Nortlinghen* ; And it had not been restored to the point of Elevation, where 'tis seen, without the perfect Intelligence now Entred into with this Kingdom. I pass by that Inordinate sense which strikes the persons of Courage to a contrary Apprehension, whereof the Wise are sometimes sick by too much Prudence ; and the best way to draw the Figure of a Virtue perfectly, and to represent it to the Life, is to Consider that she is lodged berwixt two Extremes, and to be drawn by th' Opposition of two Contraries where she Confines.

There are Princes then to be found, who for staying too long from Declaring for a Party in Communication of Interests and Fortune, and in Contenting themselves by giving a secret Heat and a faint and oblique

oblique aid, see them at last fall; Whence it falls out, That they are bound t' oppose themselves alone to the progress of the Contrary party, and to the course of a Prosperity difficult to restrain, as t' hinder th' Over-running of all that should oppose it, and to stop its Impetuosity and Violence; This truly happens but too often; but if from the beginning, and when the forces of both parties were ballanced, They had Joyned theirs, to them they favoured in secret and under-hand, There's no Question but they had Carried it, and had made the Ballance to fall on the side they desired to have it fall.

I will explain my thoughts by a Memorable example. A Conspiracy was formed some years past by the Barons of the Kingdome of *Naples* against *Ferdinand* th' Old and the Duke of *Calabria* his Son, who acted Joynly with his Father in the Government of that Country; The Duke of *Lorraine* by Reason of the pretensions he had upon that Kingdome, and the Pope to whom th' Ambition of those two Princes was in Jealousie, and their greatnesse odious, Joyned in the Confederacy. The Republique of *Venice* wounded with the Popes passion, and whom th' *Aragons* apprehended as the greatest obstacle and strongest Barrier to the Designes they had in *Italy*, would not, nevertheless, Embarque with the Barons of the Kingdome, nor Enter into the League with the Confederate Princes, but made Choice of a Temper, which prospered not, and of a middle Way, that at last was fatal unto *Venice*. The Republique discharged from their service *Robert of Saint Severin*, a Captain of great Name and of great Merit, and a part of those Troops, which she suffered him to take, and some Money she gave him under-hand to pay them, and t' hinder that great body of Men of War to dissolve till the Republique had taken party. I will say, on this occasion, That 'tis to be seen from hence, That this manner so much in use in making War, without declaring of it, and t' exercise Acts of Hostility, under the Vizard of Newtral Persons, Is not an Invention of these modern dayes, nor an Artifice peculiar to th' House of *Austria*, though they make use of it more than any other Princes; But it Comes from an Ancienter Date, and descends from an higher and older spring. In this Equipage then, and with this Masque, *Saint Severin* offered his service to the Pope, by order from the Republique, and was ordained chief Commander of th' Armies of the Church, and Principal Director and first Instrument of that War. But that which usually happens to the greatest part of Leagues, specially, when they are Composed of weak Numbers, hapned to this; *Lorraines* Army marched late in th' year and out of season, during which Time the Forces of the Barons and of the Pope were ill handled, and th' Activity used by the Duke of *Calabria* in his March to find his Enemies, who were not half Ready nor Well drawn together, and the good success he had against *Saint Severin*, who left in that War a part of the Reputation gained in many others, suddenly untied that Chain and broke that League. The Pope was

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Book I. very glad t^e hear of an Accommodation, which was desired with heart by th^e *Arragons* and the Barons, except the Prince of *Salerno*, who stood inflexible, even in ill Fortune, and chose rather to quit the Kingdom, than to Live under a Domination he hated, though others Laboured to return to the good Graces of the King and of the Prince.

The *Venetians*, observing that th^e Effort of that League against th^e *Arragons* had served only to make them the more powerfull, and that th^e Engines framed t^e over-throw, had re-inforced them, knew the Fault they had Committed in not being of the party, and after an unsuccessful solicitation of the Pope and of the Duke of *Lorraine* to renew it, did resolve t^e oppose singly the growth of *Ferdinands* power and of his Sons, and to put a Bridle to th^e Ambition of those Princes which did over-flow without Measure.

This Consideration now represented, invites me t^e another, which is not far off, and may b^e annexed without Violence, That there are also some Princes, who loving too much their Ease, or fearing too much the Charges, will alwaies stand Newts betwixt two parties, that make War, and be immoveable spectators of their Actions; Though they have a Considerable Interest, That th^e one fall nor, and that th^e other become not the Master. The Reasons wherewith these Princes, whom I suppose powerfull, do support their Judgments, and flatter their Proceedings, are these; That if the party who Labours for their Interests receives ill Entertainment from Fortune, and becomes assaulted with some great Disgrace, They shall come in time to relieve him, and that with the scattered pieces of their Overthrow, which must be Considerable, and with his fresh and Entire forces, shall not only make the Counterpoile of th^e Enemies powers, awary of their long Marches, and even tyred with the gained Victory, but be able also to reduce them to Reason, and Confine them to Limited bounds; That in the mean time they spare their Men, and make a stock of moneys Open to their Subjects Commerce, that will be Shut t^e Others, and enrich them with their substance and spoiles; That if he to whom they desire good, obtains it, and have th^e Heavens favourable and Fortune propitious, They shall Enjoy th^e Effects of their good success, without Contributing any thing to it, and have their part of th^e Harvest, without sowing of any seeds.

This truly, hath some shew of good sense, and is a specious Manner that hath Cheated some Politiques, who practise or Counsell it; As for me, I cannot Approve of it, and what Colour of profit at first sight, it presents, or flash of Prudence it may Cast, 'Tis Certain that it ordinarily Conceals the Motions and Principles of a great future Ruine, and hides Evils, which do not appear, and are not discovered, but when there's scarce any Remedy; for, as 'tis, a kind of Injustice, and seems to juggle the General Law of the World; to desire Goods without giving any thing for them, and to participate of the fruits of another mans pains and expences, without laying out any labour,

labours or Charges for them, They, who build upon that Foundation, and feed themselves with the Fancy, That they can stop when they please the fury of a Victorious party, have not well Considered the Condition of the Conquered, and the Sequel of a Victory; They do not remember, That they are but the Leven of affrights and Consternations, which infect all that mingle with them; And that a Generall Victory, if it be not forced to languish, but pursued with force and diligence, resembles a Torrent, which makes a Precipice, having forced its resistance, and to the Sea that over-flows, when it hath broken its banks. I leave it to the Judgment of these two Christian powers, wh^o have stood Immoveable to this time, and have aided only, as a spectacle prepared for sight, To what hath been done since in *Germany* and in *Italy*, If they with whom th^e House of *Austria* had to do in that Countrey had fallen, They had been in a state t^o have re-established them, and t^o have taken the Burthen of Ruined and Cast affairs upon them. It must truly b^e avowed, That the Constitution of th^e humane spirit, is ordinarily so Weak and of so soft a Metall, that it unwillingly resolves t^o enter upon difficult Enterprizes though they be necessary, or when it enters timely hath not the Constancy to prefevere, and wants Breath to go to th^e End and finish the Course.

Tenth Discourse.

Of the difference betwixt th^e Honour of Particular persons, and the Reputation of States, And whether the Prince be Master of th^e Honour as of the Life and Lands of his Subjects when Publique Necessity requires it.

Lets Come now to th^e Honour of Particular persons, and to that sort of Reputation, which is raised in th^e opinion of Men, above all, that the greatness of Fortune can give, and the Matter and objects of the Senses, as most Acceptable can contain. By honour, I do understand, the glory which redounds, and the perfume exhaled from th^e Exercise of Probity and of th^e other duties of every particular Condition, which leave in the spirits of Men a good Impression, and an high esteem of him, who doth practise them. 'Tis the Civil life, exclusive to Beast, and whereby the Reasonable Creatures have a strong Inclination, and a violent Instinct to Live and t^o Ennoble their ordinary and natural Being. This kind of life, as formerly observed, hath been in all times the passion of great persons, who have not only preferred it to Pleasure and Riches, but even to the Natural Life. The reason of this difference is; That Honour, being of th^e Appurtenances of Virtue and of her ordinary Train, partakes of the Dignity of her Principle, and takes an Impression and Tincture of the same order with her, and of a Superiour value t^o all that can be exalted in

Book I. th'Empire of Fortune, and t'all that can b' attractive, in the womb of the World.

I have said, that Honour is of th'Appurtenances and Train of Virtue, because there's not a Nation of so dull and gross intelligence, and of so barbarous and barren manners, that esteems not th'Actions of Probity, and commends those inviolable duties, which no Legislator invented, nor any particular Right hath re-establi'd; but a common Nature, and an universal Law have ordained to be rendred to God, to our Neighbour, and t'our selves; That, if in the corruption of the Manners of Society, and in th'unjust distribution of Recompence and of Punishment, Honest Men are loaden with shame, and the Wicked with glory; That Crowns are set upon th' Heads of Criminal persons, and Thunder broken upon innocent Lives; It doth not happen by a publick confession, or open profession made to disgrace Virtue, and give honour to Vice; to judge Vice worthy of Esteem and Veneration, and Virtue of Reproach and Ignominy; But that in effect, The Colours of th'one and of th'other are disguised and falsifi'd, and their Ensigns transposed; That in making War to Virtue, they seem to pursue Vice with violence, and to do honour to Virtue, when their labour is to erect Statues and Trophies to her Adversary; but there's no example that the most unlimited License, or the most imprudent Calumny of the world ever dared t'assault Virtue in her Name, and under Her Figure, or to procure it pain or shame.

Wherefore, since Virtue hath so much Dignity and Elevation, and that in this life 'tis th'Ultimate End of Man, and Crown of the Faculties and Operations of the Soul; 'Tis no marvel, if Men are not onely taken with her beauty, and the form that constitutes her, but are so sensible also of what toucheth th'outside, and is called *Honour*, that they prefer it t'all, that is not of its Order and Classis, and had rather suffer Natural Death, than permit the Civil Life to be wounded.

The Reputation of States, is not the same, whereof so often hath been spoken, and it proceeds not from so pure a Spring, and hath not so noble a Birth, as th'Honour of Particular persons: Virtue is not the sole Cause, as of th'other; The greatness of Successes, from whence it ariseth, is no lesse the work of Fortune, than an effect of the Merits of Men; Princes are as formidable for being Happy, as for being Valiant; And some Pagans have affected particular Commerces and secret Communications with some Divinity, to make their Victories the more easie by that belief; And 'tis certain, That th'Honour of Particular persons is preserved many times from the Wrack, which falls upon the Reputation of Publick Affairs. *Hannibal* lost nothing of the name of a Great Captain, when he was overcome by *Scipio*, though the Glory of *Carthage* was extinguished by that disgrace; The Prince of *Conde* marched full of Honour out of the lost Battel of St. *Quirins*, where so great a Breach was made upon the

the dignity of the French Crown; And th' Admiral of *Chastillon* Book I. boasted, a few days before th' Execution on St. *Bartholomew's* day, That he had that Advantage of *Alexander*, and of *Julius Caesar*, That the loss of four Battels, which had ruin'd or much weakn'd the Reputation of his Party, had not diminish'd the least of His Reputation. The proportion that may be found, and th' Adjustment to be made betwixt the Reputation of States, and th' Honour of Particular persons consists in this, That as the first is but th' Opinion derived, and the noise spread of their greatness and power, in the spirits of Strangers; The second also is but th' Impression received, and the fair Representation made of the Virtue and Merits of others; And again, as the Reputation of States, is less Considerable than the power, from whence 'tis derived; That the honour of Particular persons, is inferior also in dignity to the Virtue, that is its principle; which carries me to a Consideration a little alienated from my Subject, but no stranger to it, That there's not any corruption which hath so strongly seized upon Mankind, nor disorder, which doth more universally disfigure, than this; That though there be but a Few persons in the world, truly Virtuous, and that acquit themselves faithfully of the duties of their condition; yet there are none, but would pass for men of Honour, and are offended when they are accused for such, as they know themselves to be, and if False Evidences are not given in their favour.

Since we are thus far engaged in this matter, and entred into so fair a Field as that of *Honour*; it will not be amiss to make some progress, and agitate a difficulty upon this subject, eminent in the Politicks; Whether Princes are as well Masters of th' Honour of their Subjects, as of their Lands and Lives; And whether they have a Right to make them appear Culpable of some crimes, though Innocent, and to charge infamous disgraces upon their Reputation, though but a few persons are guilty of them, to discharge, from those crimes, the Princes Reputation, of so great importance to many persons. In th' Affair of *Antonio Perez*, which gave so great trouble to *Philip* the Second, and made so great a noise over all *Europe*; *Diego Chavez* Confessor to *Philip*, judged it expedient to sacrifice th' Honour and the Person also of *Perez* to shame and torments, to save the King's Honour, and to divert the dangerous consequences, which would have resulted against the State, if they believed him th' Author of th' Assassinate, executed by his order, and by the direction of *Perez*, on the person of *Escovedo*, Secretary to *Don John* of *Austria*.

This opinion nevertheless, seems not to me to be sufficiently grounded or coloured; And there's reason, that although th' Authority of a Prince over his Subjects be very large, and much dilated, yet not infinite, and receives exceptions, which limit th' extent of it; And as 'tis certain, that a Prince hath not a Right to oblige his Subjects to violate the Laws of Probity, and to become Perjur'd, Sacrilegious,

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legious, or Adulterers; so 'tis probable, that he hath not a right to require them to disgrace their Name, and to defame their Memory with dishonour that ariseth from Crimes, much less expose them, for the salvo of his own Reputation, to punishments and torments, wherewith Criminals are punish'd; As *Perez* was exposed by th' advice of *Philip's* Confessor. I conceive also, as 'tis unlawful for a King to forbid his subjects for any cause the duties of Probity, and th' exercise of necessary Virtues; so 'tis not permitted him, to deprive those Virtues of their esteem, being their first and natural Recompense, or to take from them the Lights that guide them, and the Beauty that adorns them, and gives them new graces to improve their value, and to begget in others a greater Love and Industry. The foundation of my opinion is this, That Sovereigns have ordinarily no other power over their Subjects, than what their Subjects have transferred unto them; nor Right, but such as Sovereigns have received from them; 'tis probable, they did not intend to deliver up unto them the disposition of their Honour, as they submitted unto them their Lands and Lives; nor to disseise themselves, for the Love of Princes, of that fair Possession and rich Inheritance, which they derive and gather from their Virtue; 'Tis confirmed by this Consideration, which seems to me definitive, That the Goods and Lives of the People being committed to the protection of Sovereigns, and laid up in the benefits of the protection they owe unto their Subjects, and obligations to watch for their safety, and to preserve them from the Usurpations of covetous men, and from the force of violent persons; it was very just, that to acquit themselves of that Duty, and fill up that Obligation, they should be armed with the strength of particular persons, and aided with their riches, that it might be in his power to employ a part of them to conserve the rest, and expose a few lives for the security of a great number of persons.

But 'tis not the same with the true Honour of Man, and with that just Esteem, which accompanies naturally th' exercise of Probity, and th' other necessary duties of every condition; as it hath no need of the Sovereigns Authority to conserve it, but of the Causes that produce it, and is no more subject to the violence of a Tyrant, than to th' Empire of a just Prince, and without the intervention of the Laws, as having Laws that ordained it; 'Tis not, I say, a marvel, if for that consideration, as it enters not into th' End of th' Institution of Sovereigns, so 'tis not compriz'd under th' extent of their Power, and they have no right to sacrifice it to publick necessity, as the Lands and Lives of their Subjects, whose protection and safeguard they have undertaken, and ought to secure it unto them.

In pursuance of this, it may be demanded, Whether Particular persons ought to abandon their Honour for the Publick Interest, and permit it to be sullied by some villanous disgrace, to save the Princes honour, and the Reputation of Affairs; This difficulty, I avow, appears to me so great, that I dare not undertake to decide it, and that

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on both sides I see so many Reasons, and to such equal force, that Book I. they ballance my understanding, and hinder me to take a Side; but I will onely say here, That I have admired in th' Instructions, the Marquis of *Bedemar*, since called Cardinal of *Cueva*, left to *Lewis Brave*, appointed his Successor to th' Embassie at *Venice*; That amongst other things, the Cardinal doth advise him, That to render himself the more Acceptable to the *Venetians*, and t'insinuate the more readily into their understandings, provoked against him and the Duke of *Ossoa*, by reason of *Renaut's* Conspiracy, whereof the *Venetians* believed them th' Authors; That the better to gain their belief, he should make no difficulty to dissemble and approve of their Resentment, or to Charge them with the malice of that design, and with th' hatred of that Attempt, to discharge the King his Master of it; And that he should endeavour it by private instructions, after great protestations made of the Cardinals and of the Duke of *Ossoa's* innocency, and after a subtil and artificial discourse, to shew, that that Conspiracy was but a dream and a stratagem the Senate of *Venice* forg'd t'afright the people, and to make them suffer with more ease the Subsidies and Impositions they did intend to charge on them, and whereof they had need, to continue the War, they made to th' Archduke *Ferdinand*, and to the Duke of *Ossoa*.

In favour of this counsel, it may be said, which seems so generous, and hath so plausible an appearance, That if the Marquis of *Bedemar* was innocent, as he would have perswaded it, and as piously it may be believed; He knew, that it would be very easie for him to clear that blot, and that Time, the Father of Truth, and which draws to light the things that Ignorance or Malice have hid, would have cured the world of that Error and ill Impression conceived against him; That if it otherwise hapned, and that he continued, as the *Venetians* did report, culpable in the publick opinion, It would have been but of those Illustrious Crimes, that ambitious men take for Virtues, and which the Reason of State, that permits th' Acting of the Worst to its declared or secret Enemies, doth authorize and recompence. 'Tis true, that the *Spaniards*, to whom the Reason of State is not unknown, lookt upon the *Venetians* at that time as their Enemies, by reason of the War they had with th' Arch-duke of *Grets*, their Kinsman, and of the moneys they furnish'd secretly to the Duke of *Savoy*, whose ruine the *Spaniards* had sworn, and whom they persecuted with violence; But though you do permit that Reason of State, whereof it hath been spoken; It was a very foul thing, if it were true, to stir up Traitors, and send them to the service of a Prince in Amity with them, and to whom they sent Ambassadors, and with whom they cherish'd all the Appearances and outward marks of Friendship, to kindle the fire in their Gates, in their Towns, and in their Magazines; As *Renaut*, Emissary of the Duke of *Ossoa*, was accused or convicted t'have done against the Republick of *Venice*. That if this State were in War with the Arch-duke of

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Grets, Brother in law to the King of *Spain*; And if the Destiny of the things of the world, which of custom leaves them not long in the same condition, and traversed by a perpetual vicissitude of Torments and Prosperities, forced them to break with him, That Breach was such a War, as God permits amongst Sovereign Princes, and wherein all the Rules, which the Right of Nations ordains, were observed; As to the Money which they sent to the Duke of *Savoy*, it was not forbidden them to aid a weak Friend with their purse against a powerful Enemy, in whose ruine they might have received much prejudice, who would have stripped the Duke to his shirt, and by the conquest of his Countries, have shut the gate to the relief, which might have come from *France* to *Italy*, to hinder the formed design, to finish the Conquest of that fair Country, and to reduce it into a Province. To make yet a little further progress into this Matter, and to raise some Judgment upon it, because a clear sight and certainty cannot be had of it; I will onely say, That if the Conspiracy whereof the Question is, was not true, as the *Spaniards* did maintain it, That it had colour enough to dispose the Republicque to the punishment was executed upon them, whom it believed culpable; For to imagine, as the Marquis of *Bedemar* hath published it, that it was but a half Alarm which they raised to their Subjects, and a Fancy the Republick formed to make them afraid, for the Reasons he supposed; And that being a Question of fact, it was of difficult proof, and of hard discovery; The belief, it may be, if there had been no more, would not be impossible; but that to gild th' Artifice the better, and to give the fairer colour to the deceit, the Republick had caused some persons to be put to death, and in an extraordinary manner, whom they knew to be Innocent, whereof I cannot be persuaded; And 'tis more probable, that two particular persons, as the Duke of *Osuna* and the Marquis of *Bedemar*, the first whereof plaid always with Religion and Conscience, as all the world knows, and th' other hated the *Venetians*, from whom he believing to have received ill entertainment, composed that Fable, and not that a whole great Body, as the Senate of *Venice*, wherein are many persons of wisdom and eminent Virtue, would consent to so wicked a proceeding.

To conclude, since men hazard their Virtue and Conscience so often for humane Interests and subaltern hopes; since men do as the simple Inhabitants of the New World, who prostitute their Gold and Silver, for Glass and for old Rings; 'Tis not to be wondred, if sometimes, upon the like occasion, Honour be exposed, which is but an accession of Virtue and good Conscience, chiefly, when that prostitution is covered with so specious a cloak, as that of the Princes Service, and the good of his Affairs; In all times, it hath been the lot of the Court, to poison men, if not with the profession, at least with the practice of dishonest Maxims, which ruine Honour and Virtue, to gain Goods and Power. Few long-livers in Court secure themselves

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selves from the Temptations ; and Reason hath need of a particular Grace, and of an extraordinary Relief, to resist the force of Objects, which continually besiege the Senses, and the multitude of Examples, which from all parts assault it. The Lustre raised by Luxury, makes Riches, as th' Aliment to be beloved ; And the Reverence rendered to Power, makes it to be sought for with so much heat, and conserved with so much pain : And as men fall not suddenly into the bottom of Evil, but descend by degrees into it ; so they, who pursue these things, or enjoy them, accustom themselves by little and little to make it their Sovereign Good, and t'esteem all other things which serve not to this End, for vain and ridiculous.

But this determines not, that all Courts are so corrupt, or that all they, who are obliged to live there, are corrupted ; There are some whom God calls thither, and maintains there, to give good Examples, and to make Riches and Power th' Instruments of Virtue, and the Matter of good Works ; There are some, that know and feel, that without such Considerations, these things being but vanity and affliction of spirit, as well as all others of that kind, have but this advantage, That they are a Greater vanity and a Greater affliction of spirit. However, the Faith of Courtiers, who are so violently taken, and desperately possessed with the desire of making their Fortune, That there's no treachery they will not do, nor baseness they will not act for the love of them, from whom they expect it, ought always to be much suspected ; And there's great cause of distrust, that such persons, worshipping onely the Power men have of doing good, will change their Affections with the change of Masters, and fail of Acknowledgments when they fail of Hopes ; And 'tis that distrust, which in my opinion is th' original of a Maxim, which is but too familiar with great Princes ; T' hold always the less considerable persons, that are useful unto them, by the bands of that passion ; And to cherish them, who ought to be conserved, by not doing for them all the good at once they do intend them. But if Men of Honour, they will always have a condign gratitude for their Benefactors, and will raise no Hopes, if able Men, upon them that are in power, but look upon the things of the Court, as the things of the World, the fullest of Incertitude, and to resemble Lotteries, where for one Prize there are fifty Blanks.

Eleventh Discourse.

When the War becomes too Ruinous to the Subjects of a Prince, He ought t' endeavour, if it be possible, th'End of it; That the King hath been forced to make and continue the War till now, by an Inevitable Necessity; That his Enemies rather than himself have always estranged themselves from Peace.

AFTER the making of so great a Circuit, and so long Journeys, 'tis time to return to the place from whence we parted, and to finish the clearing of the point of Profit, by a third Rule, which shall b' added to the two precedent; This ought, as hath been said, t' accompany or follow the War; In the third place, I say then, When the War inflames with violence and fury, and that there's danger, lest it consume inavoidably the good of the State, and the substance of the People, The Prince ought, if it be possible for him, to quench it, and t' imitate those wise Pilots, who use to strike sail, and to gain some safe Harbour, if the Tempest be too strong. *Lewis* th'Eleventh practised wisely this Rule, as *Philip* of *Comines* hath observed it. The *Venetians* also have done the like in all times, as I could give you several Examples; and even the *Spaniards*, notwithstanding the fierceness of their humour, and jealousy for their Reputation, have not always declin'd it, as they have done of late, in their prosecutions of the Duke of *Savoy*, since the death of the late King, and when they believed themselves to be sole Arbiters of the Destiny of *Italy*; As Inexplorable as they were, when th'Heavens smiled upon them, and that Fortune was propitious to them; Nothing was seen more tractable or docile than they, when Fortune changed her favour, and expressed a greater desire for Peace, than they had made out for War. And the passage of *Sura*, being forced for the Relief of *Casall*, and the State of *Milan* in danger to be our Prey, if our Thoughts for Conquest had been as aptly disposed, as th'Advantage and Justice: No persons ever were more submissive to the King's Will in all things, or better disposed t' Accept of all the conditions his Majesty was pleased t' impose upon them.

The foundation of this Rule is, That the Felicity of Subjects, being the principal Law, and th'ultimate Measure of th' Actions and Conduct of a Prince; To decline it, is never permitted him, but to return with great advantage, and t' imitate the Sun, which draws not up the vapours and fatness of th'Earth, but to make it the more fruitful, and of a livelier spirit, and of a more active virtue; Wherefore they, who by obstinacy, or by some other particular passion, nourish a War that is fatal to their Subjects, wander very much from th'End of their Charges. And the memory of *Francis* the First, and *Charles* the Fifth, is not recorded with Honour in History, for that
both

both of them; and particularly *Charles*, by a pure Animosity, and by a pure mutual Violent Hatred, laboured one anothers Rutine; which could not be effected but by the Ruine of their Countries; And chose rather to see *Christendome* swim in blood, and to Expose it to the common Enemy, who made benefit of their Discords, than to lay down Arms and to taken to a reasonable Treaty of Peace. *Charles* was so highly transported with this Passion; and so strongly agitated with this Fury, That He permitted *Rhodes* to perish, and Intend wholly the Desolation of *France*; and abandoned *Austria* to *Soliman*, to make War to the Duke of *Cleves*; who being the King of *Navarres* Ally, was Entred into our Conjoynd Interests.

This rule, thus laid, and this Maxim established, as an Inviolable thing, which receives no exception, but what hath been expressed; A little must be said of the Kings Conduct upon this subject, and of the Condition of *France*, by reason of the War; since He hath been the Master of it. Whereupon I say, That though this Countrey never saw since *Charlemains* time, so great a Collection of Forces, or so high an Elevation of Glory as hath been manifested under the Reign of this Prince; That though all the Course of his Reign be full of Splendour, and every part of it remarkable by some Illustrious Accident; Though this, I say, be very true; It must also be Confessed, That the War, that doth now exercise us, hath been made at a great Expence, and that it riseth with much pains and sweate to the Felicity it ought to Enjoy, and is not far from it. But as the last steps of a long Journey, are the wearisome and most painfull; And as the last drops of Potions give the grearest distaste to the sick persons that take them; so the Remainder of this Time, which *France* is to bear, and the last breathings of the War, yelds, Lay the greatest Weight and Complains, the *Marinicks* and Fainting, when with the Labours; but besides the Brevity of Time it hath to suffer, and the fair hopes for the future, she ought to Consider, as hath been already observed; in another place, That the past Evill was necessary, and that the War, which hath lasted so many years, is not of the Obilee or Inclination of the Prince, or of his Ministers of State; but an inevitable effect of some Malignant Constellation, which afflicts *Christendome*; or to speak to the Height of our Reason, and according to Experience, A fire, which th' Enemies of this State have voluntarily kindled, and which the King and his Ministers of State, what Care and Dexterity soever was used, could not extinguish. This, I will now without any figure of Rhetorique and Elegant Amplification, discover by a brief and faithful Relation of what hath passed since the peace of *Montpellier* and the Return of the Queen Mother to th' Affairs, even to this present Coniuncture. In another place, I speak of the true and affected Causes of the breach of the Peace; which was attended by the War, th' English made in our Islands, and with the third Time of taking up of Armes by th' *Hugonots*; since the Kings Reign. The Ministers of State, who had neither made nor broken that Peace, as th'

Book I. *Hugonots* pretended, and it may be untruly, which I will not here discover, were obliged to prevent th' Affronts that might b^e offered to the state, and t^o oppose th' Evill others had drawn upon it, and whereof they had laid the foundations and sowed the seeds when they had overcome that great storm, and that th' Island of *Rhe* became the Sepulchre of them, who would have made it the Seat of their new Domination; projected in *France*; The King conceived; that the fatal Instant was come, wherein the Nest of the Rebellion was to be beaten down, and *Rochelle* the Sanctuary of the disorientated Persons; What the greatness of that Siege was, and what an Incredible Wonder, the success will make appear to Posterity; 'Tis unnecessary to explain it here, since no person is ignorant of the proceedings and may Judge of them. Whilst that great Affair was in dispute, and that all *Europe* was exercised in th' Expectation of th' Event of so high an Enterprize; The *Spaniards* to make use of th' Occasion, made another Attempt upon the States of the Duke of *Montana*; and put themselves into a posture to strip him of his New Succession, for no other Reason, but that it was Convenient for them, and that the Duke was not Acceptable to them, because he was a *French-man*. How much *France* was offended with this Assault, and what a Shamefull Reflection it made upon it, in the Ruine of a Prince strip to the shirt for their sake. 'Tis easy to Comprehend Extreme Remedies, nevertheless were not used to revenge the publique Injuries. And as before *Houquingans* preparations for Sea, and th' Expedition of th' English to th' Island of *Rhe*; an Extraordinary Ambassadour was sent into *England*, to divert the breach was intended; And before Engagement in the War of *Italy*, and to pass the Mountains for the relief of *Montferrat*; The King had recourse to the Ways of Treaty, and sent *Sis de Baintz*, t^o offer such Civil and reasonable Conditions of Accommodation; that the *Spaniards* could pretend to Nothing, but the Victory, of more Advantage. This way failing, and the Reducement of *Rochelle*, upon whose subsistence the principal Hopes of the good Success of their Armes had been raised, having given Means to the King to pass th' *Alpes*, and t^o have to the Relief of *Casal*, upon its last breath. He made th' Enemies aware, upon a Treaty that left *Montferrat* for that time safe, and binded the State of *Milan* to change the Master of it. That so favourable and obliging a Treaty, should not give an End to that War; And that the *Spaniards* should not observe it, so long as they might have done, to prepare for a new Assault, and to return to the Lib^{er}ty from whence they were come with some loss, even of their Reputation, but with th' Entire Conservation of what they might have lost more, was Hard of Belief. They behaved themselves nevertheless in that Manner, and to pay the Charge done them, or to speak according to their sense, t^o revenge th' Affront they had received an Assault. They sent a part of th' Impetuous best Troops to march from *Germany* into *Italy*, and sent the Marquis of *Spino* thither from *Spain* with much Money

Money, and great Forces, to renew the Quarrel, which we thought had been ended. 3. And to deprive us of any thoughts of th' Affairs of the Duke of *Mantoua*, and to force our Armies the second time to pass th' *Alpes*; They had prepared two powerfull Irruptions against *France*; The one in *Champaigna* by *Wallstein* to whom the present Duke *Charles* of *Lorraine* gave passages through his Countrey, and furnished Victuals for his Army; And th' other in *Languedoc* by the Duke of *Feria*, who drew not thither, either for want of Forces, or by Reason that *Wallstein* changed his march towards *Ratisbone* & allay the storm that broke upon his head in that Dyet.

Such was the *Spaniards* proceedings, and the Design they hatched against *France*, whilst we thought only of Composing the differences they had with the Duke of *Mantoua* in a friendly Manner, and caused Endeavours to be used in *Italy* and in *Germany* to withdraw the *Spaniards* with sweetness from that prejudice, whereinto they had Cast the Duke, without offence given by him; And that the *Sir* of *Sabran*, was sent to *Vienno* to make Plausible and Just proffers; That undoubtedly th' Emperour had Accepted them, if he had been Master of his Desires. And if th' *Spaniards*, who are predominant in his Counsels, had not had the spirit so full fraught with the Thoughts of War, that there was no room left for a Thought of Peace, nor a Motion which tasted not of Passion and Violence.

Th' Armes then of th' Empire of *Spain*, and of *Barbey* Conjoyned against us, and against our Allies, had in the beginning, and in the Sequel of thar War, Considerable successes, *Mantoua* was lost by surprise, and *Casali*, th' onely Piece saved from the Ruine of the Dukes Fortune, and the last Anchor of the safety of *Italy*, was in danger to be lost by Siege; But it was relieved by a Miracle, and there was made a kind of Accommodation, which skinned th' Evil rather than healed it; And *Ferdin*, who succeeded to *Saint Croix* in the Government of *Milane*, had a Design to convert it into smoke, so soon as our Forces had repass'd the Mountains, and should be in Condition to break it with Advantage; He had truly done it, and had made it to be sufficiently understood, as it shall be fully deduced in th' Apology of th' Acquisition of *Pignaroli*, if the Vigilancy of our Minister of State had not Countermine'd his Mines; And if th' Arms of the King of *Sweden*, which began to flourish in *Germany*, had not caus'd th' Imperial Forces to be re-called from *Italy*, without which the *Spanish* Forces had not strength enough to Act powerfully, nor Pretext to cover their Embroyles; that was the Cause, the *Spaniards* were Constrained to Acquiesce in the Peace Concluded at *Quierisyne*, because they were not the Principal parties in the War, which they had not begun, as they said, nor pursued, but for th' interests of th' Emperour, and as Auxiliaries of th' Empire.

Before the Raising of the Siege of *Casali*, and during the sitting of the Dyet of *Ratisbone*, The King treated with the King of *Sweden*, whom the Protestants of *Germany* had Invited to their Relief, and upon

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on whom they had Cast their Eyes, as upon their last Refuge, and the sole Haven, which was left them, against the storm that did threaten their Countrey. Whilst this great Adversary was upon the Stage, to try his strength with the formidable House of *Austria*; And to speak the Truth, the Victory was not much less to be feared on the Friends, than on th' Enemies part, in Parties so full of Ambition; Reason of State advised, That the King should be in Armes, to Cause his Authority the more to be Respected, and his Protection the more to be Valued, which he so Generously and Christianly offered t' all the Catholiques of *Germany*, as a Means to retain, if there were Cause, the Victorious in their proper Bounds, and t' hinder th' abuse of the Victory, and th' Enlargement of it, further than it might be expedient for the Good of Religion or for the *German Liberty*. That if the King had been as mortal an Enemy to th' House of *Austria*, as th' House of *Austria* is to *France*, and had sworn its Ruine, as th' other had the Ruine of *France*, It cannot be doubted but with the least Effort made, when the King of *Swede* did so violently shake it, He had laid it upon the ground; And if after the Death of that Magnanimous Prince, and whilst good Fortune could not then be separated from th' Armes He Commanded, He had joyned his Forces with the *Swedes* for the Relief of *Ratisbone*; where all the Forces of th' Emperour were Engaged, It had probably fallen under that Weight. The King truly Religious to a scruple in preserving the Peace that was betwixt us and them, and in sparing it in a time when we might have lawfully disturbed it, hath been ill requited for that grace, and the same Men, to whom we gave life at *Heidelberg*, were the Troops, as hath already been observed, which surprized *Philisbourg* from us, and made that great Wound, that will bleed it may be to th' End of the War. But the *Spaniards* having Commanded *Treves* to be taken, and Carried away th' Elector, who took himself to be safe under the shadow of the Flowers of Lillies and Inviolable under our Protection, as to them with whom we were not in War; Having forced us, by all sorts of Reasons, to declare it to those Ravishers, and to purge that Injury, by Armes against them, who would not repair it friendly; Since Peace appears, as a Monster affrighting them, what shew soever they have made to desire it, and what person soever they have put on to blind the World with that Appearance; 'Tis certain, that they were never in Earnest; And being alwayes flattered with hopes that some Change would happen amongst us, that might make the Way plain to Victory, or that it might be made th' Easier with their Armes; They raised so many Pundilicoes, and so many Disputes upon the form of Passports, Necessaries to treat of Peace, and then, upon the Quality of the Persons, who ought therein to be Comprised, and upon other studied Incidents, to delay that affair, as shall be represented in the following discourse; That the worst sighted Men, have seen that the *Spaniards* thought of Nothing less than Peace, and that all their Endeavours were but an Illusion to Cheat simple Persons.

But

But th'Heavens, a weary of their Hypocrisie, and abhorring the Book I.
 loss of so much Christian Blood, which their Ambition had Caused
 to be spilt, disappointed their hopes in th'highest Ascendant they
 were ever arriv'd into ; And they who had an Aversion for Peace by
 reason of th'Immenſe Advantages which they represented to them-
 selves in the Continuation of the War, were Conſtrained to make a
 good ſhew, and to keep it at diſtance, t'Endeavour the Recovery of
 what they had loſt, and to ſee whether the Wheel of Fortune that
 had brought them ſo low, might not make one turn in their Favour,
 and reſtore them to the place from whence ſhe had Caused them to
 deſcend ; They muſt nevertheless, after Conteſt upon that Attempt
 and after a Tryal of all Means to riſe again, bore under the Deſtiny,
 that handled them ſo ill, and reſolve to quit ſomething whereof they
 had no ſure Hold, and to ſave the reſt they might have loſt. Either
 all the preſſages the preſent State of things doth hold forth are falſe,
 or this time, as hath been ſaid, in another place, is not far off. And
 ſo ſoon as *Germany* is reduced to Reaſon, which may be effected by
 ſome ſmall Attempts made on that ſide, The laſt Act of the Tra-
 gedy will be plaid, and Peace ſhut up that bloody Theater, which
 hath been ſo long open to the War.

Twelfth Diſcourſe.

*Where 'tis ſhewed, by two manifeſt Proofs, That 'tis the Houſe of
 Auſtria that hath alwayes reſiſted the Deſign of Peace : To
 which the King and his Confederates were
 diſpoſed in Earneſt.*

THe World is to be ſatisfied of a moſt Important Truth, which is
 neceſſary to be known, and the Matter more exactly handled;
 which hath been but lightly touched in the precedent Diſcourſe. It
 muſt be made t'appear ; That 'tis not the King that hath broken the
 Rule, which hath been formerly eſtabliſhed; but his Enemies, who
 have forced from him the Means of obſerving it ; They have alwayes
 oblig'd him t'have th'Armes in his hands, though he had a Deſire to
 quit them ; and having pity for th'Evils of his Subjects, and trouble
 for all the Wounds, which *Chriſtiendome* received; and for the great
 effuſion of blood in the VVar, made all the proffers he could make
 with Honour, t'obtain an honeſt and ſure Peace.

In effect, He hath hearkned with the moſt favourable Eares, and
 with a ſpirit the beſt prepared that could be deſired, t'all the good
 Offices, which his Holineſs laid out upon that Occaſion ; He deli-
 vered Faithfully and in Warrantable form, the neceſſary paſſe-
 ports for our Enemies Deputies ; He named his Agents to go to th'
 Appointed places for that Holy-work ; And omitted nothing of
 what

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what might be expected from a Prince, really desirous of Peace; And the demonstrations he hath given, were not false Ensigns or deceitfull Evidences, but certain marks and Conclusive Arguments of the desire He had for it; I affirm nothing, but what the Pope and his Nuncios do certifie; that Newtral Princes and their Ministers of State have acknowledged, that the greatest part of *Christendome* knows, and whereof the Conscience of our Enemies is Convinced. But they made onely false shews, and studied Countenances of desires for Peace, and for the quiet of *Christendome*, whilst they Imployed their Wits to find out Inventions, to continue the War, and laboured with all their powers to lengthen the Troubles, and to Perpetuate th' Actions of the VVar. They sent indeed Deputies to *collen*, whither they might go with Safety and Honour, but 'twas for two Ends, both advantagious to them, but were not such as the Christian Common-wealth aspired unto, with so much heat, and whereof there was not so great need, as the Cessation of the VVar. The first, to deceive the VWorld by that fair Apparance, and to make simple persons believe, that they had not onely a desire for Peace, but that they made haste to make it, and burned with Impatience to give a beginning to so necessary, and to so much desired a VVork; And all this, to secure themselves by these Illusions and Dexterities, of the Blame would be given them for keeping of *Christendome* so long in Trouble, and for powring out so much Oyl and Brimstone on the fires that they have there kindled, and which have almost reduced it t' Ashes.

The second End, was, to lay us asleep by that shew, and to render us more Defective and Cold, by that their exterior Desire for peace, to put our selves into a Condition of sustaining the VVar, which they would make us; To dead also by the same Means thm, who had a mind to joyn with us, and t'hinder them to be of that Party, where their Interest and Honour obliged them; And t' untye from our Amity and allyance them who were already entred, by proposing to them Conditions, in shew of more advantage if they treated apart, than such as they should have in a Treaty of Generall Peace; And in persecuting them, with that politique Maxim, That in the matter of Society and Leagues the storm falls upon the Last that treat, who pay the Charges of the VVar, and that the first are the Persons, who gather the Profit, and vwho Carry in the Crops of the field vvhich others have Husbanded and thereof sowed the Seed. But our Deputies, and those of our Confederates, for vvhom they sent no Passports, or such, as vvere lame or Defective in the form or the matter, vwould not render themselves in the place appointed for the Treaty, because they had denied them th' Entry, and shut up the passages by that Artifice; A proceeding certainly very Injurious to th' *Holy Chair*, vvhose Mediation they have long abused to dissimble their Deceit, and Comical Demeanor to the rest of the VWorld, vvhich the *Spaniards* have Acted by Apparances very distant, from their

their Intentions, and very contrary to the Truth, as we shall prove by two Infallible proofs. Book 1.

Th'one is, Th'Answer made at *Vienna*, in the month of *July*, in the year 1637, to th'Ambassador of the Duke of *Florence*, upon th'instance he then made t' have Authentique Passports, as well for our Deputies, as for them of our Allies. They would not, as they said, grant Passports to the Crown of *Swede*, with whom they had a particular Treaty, nor for the Princes in Rebellion to them; whereof they that were in Arms, as the *Landgrave of Hesse*, laboured to make their Accommodation apart; and th'others upon whom the storm fell, and had been put into the Proscription of th'Empire, were incapable to Treat, and had no difference to determine, but what was determined by th'Emperors Sword, and by the Laws of th'Empire; And in general, it was their sense, That it did not belong to Dependent and Subaltern Princes, in which number they comprehended all the Princes of th'Empire, to send Deputies to an Assembly, such as was to be kept at *Collen*, where none ought t' Intervene, but the Deputies of Absolute and Independent Princes; And that the King of *Spain* was justly to be condemned, if he had not promised the contrary, which they were well assured he had done; Not to meddle with th'Affairs of *Germany*; And that he would take it ill if th'Emperour should intermeddle in th'Affairs of his Kingdom, and favour the Revolted of his Subjects, and give heat to their Rebellions; That if he desired Passports to send to treat of the Quarrel had with the King of *Spain*, and of the difference had with the Duke of *Lorraine*, they were ready to grant them.

'Tis easie by the whole course of this Answer, and by the secret sense it contains, that th'*Hatred* they bear us is immortal, and that th'Envy they conceive against us is th'ordinary Devil which torments them; That the particular Peaces they have sought with so much Vehemency and Artifices, were not planks for them to pass with more ease t' an Universal Peace, but the means of making us th'hotter and more violent War, and to charge us in more places, and by a greater number of Engines; And to make some reflection upon the matter of this plausible Answer, I will say, That being as the world believes them, such great men of Policy, and so dextrous in th'Art of dissimulation, whereof they have gained the Reputation, They too openly vented their design to change th'Empire into Monarchy, and to leave no mark of Sovereignty, or any impression of a Free Power in *Germany*; Or to declare the Truth, and make it out as it was; 'Tis not, though they then had their spirits full, and heated with the design, That they wanted power to retain it, if they had been willing t' have concealed it, and t' have denied it the Light, but since th'unhappy and fatal Peace of *Prague*, they believed t' have so well and effectively adjusted their Arrows, and weather'd them, that nothing could hinder them of success, and that th'Answer was made in the strength of their Hopes, and in th'Highest Elevation of their Thoughts.

K

For

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For what other Thing could it signifie, in Comparing the Princes of th' Empire with the Subjects of the King of *Spain*, and to put them in a parallel and equal degree of condition, Than to begin to degrade them of their Sovereignty, which no person to this day hath contested with them? Than to make the Transmutation spoken of, and reduce many States, who have particular Lords, under a single Monarque? And yet no person is ignorant of the Dignity of th' Empire of the West, as of the Powers that constitute it; And that they reside not in the sole Person of th' Emperor, As the Power and dignity of Monarchies have their seat in the Persons of the Princes that possess them, But in th' Assembly and Conjunction of th' Electors, and of th' other Princes of *Germany*, who together, make the Body, whereof th' Emperor is the most considerable Member, and Superiour in Excellency to th' other Members, considered apart, and sever'd from the Body they form; There's no person also but knows, That the Majesty of th' Emperor, and that August Character which doth distinguish him from Monarques, are not derived from the power he hath over a great extent of Country submitted unto him, and over a great number of Subjects, which he governs, but arise from the Greatness to which he is raised, and from the Rank that he enjoys above many Soveraigns that encompass him, who do him honour, and are bound in certain occasions, as receiving th' Investiture of their Estates from th' Emperor, to serve him with their Lands and Persons, and owe him (with exception to other Soveraigns not of the Body of th' Empire) a particular Honour and an extraordinary Veneration.

But lest th' Emperor, following th' humour of Great Persons, should give too great an Extent to his Authority, and make Invasions upon the Rights and Liberties of the Princes of th' Empire; And lest, the Princes puffed with the spirit of Sovereignty, which they bring with them into the world, and drunk with the sweetness of the Command they exercise over their Subjects, should become Indocile towards th' Emperor, and undertake to draw to them all th' Authority of th' Empire, Constitutions have been made, and Laws established, which bound their Jurisdiction, and qualifie their distinct Powers, and hold the Ballance at its just point amongst them, and make the necessary Counterpoise, Lest that th' one becoming too strong, should force and destroy th' other; And 'tis that temper which th' Emperour and the Princes of th' Empire have assaulted, by several stratagems on divers occasions, and the Limits, which they would have often defaced; 'Tis that Counterpoise which they have endeavoured to unsettle, and to ruine that Harmony, in whose conservation th' Happiness of *Germany* principally consists, the safety of *Christendom*, and the most assured means of resisting th' Ottoman Forces, when they over-run on the Land side; And 'tis that, th' House of *Austria*, doth enforce more of late, than ever to perform, what they labour with Sails and Oars; 'Tis the great work

work of their Aim and Ambition, and could they master it, as many times since the Battel of *Prague* they have been very near it, it would not b^e Impossible for them to convert Kingdoms into Provinces, and to make up in time the Monarchy, whereof they have so many years past laid the Design.

And therefore th^e Affairs of th^e Empire being in this condition, I leave it to the Judgment of every Impartial Person, whether the King had not a great interest in th^e Affairs of *Germany*; and great reason t^o engage; And whether h^e ought t^o have promised to th^e House of *Austria* the liberty of finishing at his pleasure, and without resistance, that pernicious design of Universal Monarchie? Whether h^e ought with Newtral Eyes and folded Arms have permitted th^e Inheritance of his Neighbours to be burnt, whose flames might easily reach his Countries? To Judgment I submit it, whether th^e Aiding of Princes oppressed and stript, be to protect Rebellious Subjects? And whether distinction ought not to be made betwixt them, in whose hands God hath put the sword to defend their Rights against Strangers, as well as to punish th^e Enemies of their Country, and them, who have no other Right to bear Arms, than what they receive from th^e hands of their Prince? The King then could not abandon the cause of miserable *Germany*, nor permit the Liberty of its Princes to be ravish'd, without being an Enemy to his People, and Defector of the Christian Republic; And he was no less obliged to maintain, by his Endeavours and Arms, the Constitution of th^e Empire, against th^e House of *Austria*, which laboured to destroy it, than He was at that time, when He used his Authority, and permitted his Forces to march out of his Kingdom t^o oppose the Count *Palatin's* design of Alteration; And that the Resolutions taken in th^e Assembly at *Worms* should not be executed. But this matter shall be further cleared in the Treaty of the Monarchy of th^e House of *Austria*.

As to the Princes of *Germany*, who did not co-operate with th^e holy Intentions of the King, and departed from his Alliance and that of *Swede*; who thought to secure their Estates and Fortune by a particular Treaty, and to find in the Peace of *Prague* an Inviolable Sanctuary against the Evil they did apprehend; These Princes, I say, are very blind, or of small courage, if they do not see the servitude is prepared for them; if they dare not refuse to put their hands to the making of that Chain which is t^o hold them; if they have been taken with the Charms th^e House of *Austria* had presented unto them, and have followed th^e ill inspirations have been given them by pretended friends; if the Peace they thought to make, hath not been so much a Peace as a change of War, and passage to new Troubles, and to more dangerous Emotions than those they had quitted; if in their present condition they march betwixt Precipices, and ought to be the Prey of the Victor, on what Side soever the Victory falls, and bear the punishment of their defection from the good Party, or be-

Book I. come their last Conquest, and make the Conclusion of the Design, they had in Judgment; In this Dereliction, wherein their imprudence, and the Corruption of some other causes had cast them; 'Tis yet better for them, to return to the good Party, and find safety and honour by aiding in order to the Victory, than to persevere in a Society, where they must perish whatsoever happens; I know well, that 'tis not easie to get out of a Precipice, nor out of a Labyrinth, when a man is far advanced into it; But, notwithstanding th' Artifices of th' House of *Austria*, and the Toils they set in all places to stop the Princes escape from them; Th' offences they have committed against them, who came so generously to relieve them, and th' high ingratitude wherewith they have paid the precious Blood was spilt, and the life of one of the most Illustrated Persons of the world lost for their safety; If there remains, I say, in their Souls any dram of Love for the Liberty of their Nation, which hath been in great veneration vwith them, and that they be ready to receive good fortune, vwhen she offers her self unto them, The favourable Revolution that begins to shine upon *Germany*, vvill give them means to break the Bonds that hold them; To reconcile themselves to their ancient friends, and to recover their first Correspondency vwith them, vvwhose Amity is their present Security, and future Protection; But they shall be entertained more fully on this Subject in another place.

As to the particular Treaty which th' *Austrians* then conceived to make with the *Suedes*, and pursued to make with much vehemency, which hath been very often cur in sunder, and as often tied up again; which was the design of the last Resolutions of the penultimate Dyet of *Ratisbone*, and the foundation of th' hopes of the good Success of th' Enemies Affairs, The time hath made it appear, that it was nothing but a countermine of the *Suedes*, t'amuze th' Imperialists; As it was the design of th' Imperialists, in case the Treaty became abortive, to lull asleep the *Suedes*, and to render them slower and less inflamed to make War; or it was a studied stroak of Adresse, and a subtil Artifice to cheat their Confederates, with some shew of Apprehension and Jealousie, and to provoke them t'intend with more vigour, and with stronger subventions, th' Affairs of the League; For that wise and advised Nation was not so great an Enemy to their Good, nor so ill-sighted in the Truth of their Interests, as to be deprived willingly, in favour of the King of *Poland*, of a great and rich Province, easie for them to be conserved, and to be at greater Liberty to defend his Conquests in *Germany*, and to make progress upon the Usurpators and Desertors of the Liberty of that Country; And afterwards to renounce, what he enjoyed, as most stable and Immovable, for a sum of Money offered him, and for so casual a Benefit, as Money, that may easily be spent or wasted. That if the House of *Austria* consented, that the Crown of *Suede* should keep the Provinces and Places, which it could not take from them;

The

The Designs of that Ambitious House, and the Policy of its Ministers of State, were too well known to be perswaded, That it was for no longer Time than was necessary to Accomplish in other places their Designs, or to procure unto themselves either the greater Victory, or the more advantageous Peace; That no Christian Power could or would oppose the War to be made them, whom it calls Aggressors of th' Empire, and the disturbers of the peace of *Germany*. In another place, Discourse shall be made of the Certainty may be raised on the promises of that House, when it may break to advantage.

Th' other Proof to be made use of is fresh, and Memory need not be strained to remember it; 'Tis present to th' understanding, and to the sense of them, who know any thing of our Affairs; 'Tis that which passed this year at *Hambrough* touching th' Adjustment of necessary Conditions, for proceeding in the Treaty of the General Peace, and finishing that Lamentable War; which in the conclusion, will make of *Christendom* but a shambles and a Glass-house; That Adjustment was pursued by the Mediation of the King of *Denmark*, who to render himself the more considerable to both Parties, and to give Jealousie to him, that should seem opposite to the Peace, raised a great and powerful Army to make the Ballance fall on the Side he should take in that hot Quarel, whilst th' Ambassadors of the King and of the Crown of *Sweden* submitted, as they ever did, to Reason, and made all th' Advances that could be expected from persons acting in Earnest, and without Personating. It first hapned, that *Sir Sutzan*, Deputy to the King of *Hungary*, retired, when th' other Deputies were upon the point of Resolving some thing for that pretended Adjustment, without giving notice of it; in Imitation of the Count of *Curs*, who practised the same a little before, And returned six weeks after with imperfect Authorities, and with defective Letters of Credence, that it might not fail on the King of *Spain's* part; The Negotiation was stopped: What th' Imperialists did, was to thrust Time by the shoulder, and to see whether that great Clowd gathered near *France*, would not produce something to their advantage, and bring upon that Kingdom the Tempest, which they had promised to themselves, and whercof they had furnished a great part of the Matter.

Moreover, not to appear Averse to Peace, nor to be Charged with th' Hatred that would be charged on them by the Voluntary Continuation of the War, They permitted, that the broken Treaty should be set on foot, and sent to *Hambrough* the Count of *Aversbery* with a more Ample power, by virtue whereof, after long Disputes and long Contests of spirit and words, Th' Adjustment desired, was resolved, and Conditions signed, to which nothing was wanting for Execution, but the Ratification of Interessed Princes in that Affair. But that failed on the part of the King of *Hungary*, who instead of sending a pure and simple Ratification, as was necessary, and

Book I. and as his Deputy was obliged to procure, and as the Kings was made, sent it lame, and Limited with so many Modifications and Reserves, that it was easie to see, that it was but Comedy, and the continuation of the Game, which the *Sir Sutzan* had plaid, t'Amuze the world, and to give time to ripen the Great Designs formed against *France*. And that they may not accuse me to have supposed, what is not, and t'have rais'd a fancy at pleasure to quarrel them, I will onely make use, for Justification of what I have said, of the force of a Libel against us, which not long since they did publish in *Spanish*, and under the sign of a pair of Spectacles; After a number of foolish proffers, and of th'Impostures vomited against the good Intentions of the King, and of his Ministers of State; Th' Author concludes it with a Prognostick, or rather with a Threatning, he makes of the great Disorder, that was ready to Thunder in this Kingdom in the Concurrence of two Parties, that would divide the Court, and which, as he said, ought to shake the Pillars of this Monarchy.

I add to what I have before said, To discover the true passion the King had to remove all the Rubs that might stop the way to Peace, and t'omit nothing that might hasten that Holy Work; that he had given power to *Sir of Arvaux* his Ambassador, t'Accord, in the Passports, he should deliver to the King of *Hungary's* Commissioners, a Title, which to that time h' had vainly desired of us, and had always constantly been refused him, for the Considerations, which shall be laid down in the Treaty of the Monarchy; And to shew also th'Indubitable Aversion the King of *Hungary*, with all his House, had to the Peace, which all *Christendom* demands, and is so necessary for it; At the same time that he refused it, by his Evasions and Proffers, He bought dearly the Continuation of that Peace he had made with the *Turk*, and consented, That almost two hundred Villages should be cut off from his Frontiers, to lengthen the Territories of the *Turk*.

The End of the First Book.



O F
The Council of VVar
Of a PRINCE.

Second BOOK.

First Discourse.

*That it is a great Misfortune to a Prince to want Power to make Defence
against th' Assaults of a Forein Prince, and thereby to depend upon
the Will of others: which is confirmed by two Examples;
The first, of the League made betwixt the Pope,
the King of Spain, and the Venetians,
for the Relief of Cyprus.*



Having given some Advises, and prepared some Directions for such Princes, as will relieve their Allies; It may not be improper, t' instruct them who have need of Relief, of the Manner whereby they may be most safely Relieved; and to shew them the dangerous places, and discover th' Ambushes, if Fortune casts them into it, they will meet with in that way. T' handle then this Matter, and to distribute it in Order, I say, That although a Prince ought to b' Industrious to fortifie himself with Alliances, and t' interets the greatest number of Powers he can in his Conservat^{on}; 'Tis ever an ill fortune for him, if the good weal of his Countries, and the Matter of his Fortune depends upon another Mans will; And if he have not in himself, and in his Power, the principle of his safety, and the Revenge of Disgraces; If that fail him, and a powerful Enemy assault him, He is often oppressed before his Friends put themselves into a posture to defend Him; And th' Evil hath

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hath struck its stroak, before his Allies are resolved to go to fight his Enemies.

The Reason of this is, That a wise Prince ought not, but with the Latest t'Embarque in a War, or expose himself with precipitation in a thing that hath nothing certain but th'Expence, that therein is to be made, and whose success more than all other things in the world, depends upon th'incertainty of Fortune, and upon the motions of other Incident Causes. Wherefore he must ever labour to divert the storm with Address, before he undertakes to break it by Force; And endeavour timely the ways of Accommodation, and that the Means of his Intercession and Proposals precede the Motion of his Arms; And when all this shall prove unprofitable, and that the gentle Remedies do but sharpen th'Evils, and that he must resolve to make use of Extremes; There is much way to be gone over, and difficulties to be overcome, before arrival there, many things are to be furnished and fitted before Entry into the Lists, and beginning of the Course for Contest.

And if he send but weak Supplies, and light Refreshings to his Friends, what will it prove but an impertinent advance, and a lost Expence; To cast a few drops of water upon a great fire, which kindle it rather than put it out; Provoke the disease, rather than cure the sick person? And if he resolve t'Arm powerfully, and to raise great Forces in favour of his Allies, but will not do it without taking of Sureties and Pawns for th'others faith; without agreeing upon Re-embursment, and without many other Conditions, which occasion a long Contest and Debate; The Prince who hath th'Enemy upon him, and the fire in his Country, shall perish at leisure, or make some considerable loss: But th'Assailant makes his preparations before-hand, and in silence, the quickest and suddenest Invasion possibly to surprize him, and t'oppress him, before he can know it, or can be Relieved; and will cause all sorts of Inventions and Engines to play to stop or subvert the Subventions which might come from his Allies.

I will produce, for the clearing and confirmation of what I have said, two Illustrious Examples, and from two of the wisest and most famous Nations of Europe, in th'Art of the Conduct of Negotiations, and governing of Enterprizes. It must b' endeavoured by th'aid of the Narratives, to make the face of the Discourse cheerful, which too long a Reasoning would render austere, and to divert the Readers spirit from the too profound attention, wherein it would plunge him, if it were not interrupted. The first Example shall be taken from the League made betwixt Pius the 5th, Philip the 2^d, and the Venetians, against Selim the 2^d, who had assaulted th'Island of Cyprus. This Evidence is to be given to the Piety of Philip, that he did not expect Solicitation for the Relief of the Venetians in this occasion, and that he offered them, and sent them his Maritime Forces a year before the conclusion of the League; But what was done in the

the pursuit of it, brought not the fruit that was expected; The Remedies came not time enough, and the Relief was prepared, with so great Tedioufness, and Marched so slowly; That *Nicosia* was lost before the *Spanish* and *Venetian* Forces met; That was the Capital City of *Cyprus*, and one of the best Fortifications of th'Eaſt. As the *Spaniards* put not to Sea, but with the Belief to ſecure it, ſo they abated of their Edge, when they knew it was loſt; And though in the beginning, they'd made ſhew t'aid the *Venetians* in Earneſt; It was not poſſible, after that loſſe, to make *John Adre Doria* their General t'advance for the Relief of *Famagouſt*, which then held out, and wherewith, if it had been Conſerved, there had been hopes to Recover what was loſt, and to retake *Nicosia*.

Though this was ſo, yet it was not the ſole Rigour, which *Doria* Exercised towards the *Venetians*, nor the ſole Bitterneſſe they had to drink from his Cup, during the time of th'Expedition; whiſt th'Armies were at Sea, and that they were apparantly to march for mutual Conſervation, Hee Comanded his Ships apart from the *Venetians*, and marched ſeparately, To be free from Engagement in any Enterprize, or to ſecond th'heat of the Republique, which could not reſolve to retire without ſome undertaking. The ſmall Deſigns they propoſed unto him, he rejected, as unworthy of the Forces he Comanded and the Reputation of th'Army. In the great and difficult Matters, He would not Engage by Reaſon of the ſmall Time that reſted to finiſh them; And that they were upon the Declination of *Autumn*. when the Tempeſts are frequent in the *Levant* Sea, and Navigation dangerous. So that two fair Armies retired without doing more than making of a Noiſe, and one of the greateſt Preparations that hath been ſeen upon the Sea of a long time, Acted no memorable thing, but in producing nothing that was memorable.

It was ſaid, That it was not of Kindneſs but of Jealouſie, That *Philip* ſo freely offered his Forces to the *Venetians*, and was Enclined to that Deſign for fear leſt if they went alone to diſſipate that ſtorm, and to reſiſt the great Powers of *Selim*, Their Reputation might be raiſed to ſome Exceſs, and make them Conſiderable in *Chriſtendome*, and particularly in *Italy*, beyond what was expedient for the Good of his Affair. But he ſought a Temper of Aid, which was impoſſible for him to find, and as his Retentive Spirit and diſtruſtfull humour diſpoſed him naturally in all things t'allow the leaſt He Could to hazard, In this Action, He Endeavoured to gain without danger of loſs, and to Defend the *Venetians* in declaring only a deſire to Conſerve them, and t'hinder the progreſs of the *Turk* by the ſole Reputation of his Armes, and by the ſingle Demonſtration of his Forces.

But this Deſign miſcarrying. The League above ſpoken of, vvas Concluded the ſollowing year, though it vvas not vvithout much Conteſt and Labour, The violent and paſſionate Endeavours of *Pius*

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the fifth for that business, were stronger than all the Difficulties the *Spaniards* framed, and all th' Inconveniences which they Caused & Arise. A little stay must be made here, to relate the proceedings which the *Spaniards* and the *Venetians* had there, and to represent the subtilties and stratagems, which they practised mutually in the war of Wit; It being the subject, which engaged me to produce this Example, and what hath been said above, was only to serve it for passage and Avenue. They were then eight entire Months in Contesting upon the Conditions of the Treaty, without finding an End of them; Much was agitated and little resolved, and the slow and Difficult humour of the *Spaniards* furnished alwaies Matter for the Lengthning of it, and sometimes Pretexes for the Breaking of it. In the mean Time *Famagoussa* was lost; Insolence Encreased in the *Turk* with the Victory; And th' Irresolutions the Christians Labour'd of were a necessary Argument to him of their Fear and Weakness.

And yet it was impossible to Joyn spirits, which had such different Interests and such Contrary ends, as the *Venetians* and the *Spaniards*; They that were first Exposed to the *Turks* Armes, and upon whom the greatest weight of the War was to fall, prest the speedy Quenching of the Fire; But the *Spaniards* more remote from the danger, had not so great a desire to expell it, and being out of distance to be suddenly toucht with th' Evil that prest the *Venetians*, Endeavour'd only to be deliver'd of another Evil, The *Barbarian* Piracies, which constantly vexed them, They would have had the War Carried into that Country for to repress them, or at least, be assured, that it should be done hereafter; And that the *Venetians* and they should Joyntly endeavour, and withall their powers, to force from the Pirates their strong holds, and from the *Turks*, their Harbours for their Fleets; But for Accord in this proposall an expedient could not be found, nor security offer'd that would be received; The disposition of the *Venetians* was suspected by them, and they were dissident of such an interestted Policy as theirs; and believed it full of Artifices and Snares; And as they who have Inclinations for deceit, have alwayes fear of being deceived, They feared that the *Venetians* being in th' Haven, would forget who Aided them thither, and being safe from the Tempest that threatned them from *Constantinople*, They would no longer think of the Warr at *Argieres* and *Thunis*, nor Continue for anothers Interest the same Expences, they had laid out upon their own Interest.

Th' End then they pursu'd, and the Mark they aimed at, was this; To form a League offensive and defensive with the Pope and the *Venetians*; That this League should be perpetual, That it should have Forces alwayes at Sea, and that the Confederates should make use of them, according to th' Exigency of th' Occasions and Necessity of their Affairs. Thereupon they made proposalls, as Ridiculous as Magnificent, and formed upon that foundation Designs as much swollen as their Courage;

rage, And as high as their Hopes ; They desired, after the taking of *Constantinople*, and Ruining of the *Turk*, That they should be bound to make War to the King of *Persia* ; To destroy *Byzerte*, *Thunis*, and *Argieres* ; T^e Exterminate the *Seriphes* from *Africa*, and to pursue in all places *Mahomets* Sect with Sword and Fire, and to pay him with use, what He had so largely borrowed of *Christendome* ; They did after these Proposals made, raise the powers of their Master above all that was great or formidable upon Earth, and Amplifie his Zeal to Religion, Exalt his prosperities and give Wings to his hopes.

It was easie to be seen, That all their Proceedings were nothing but Illusion and Artifice ; And that they laboured only to preserve th^e Apparances of good Christians, and gain Reputation amongst Credulous Souls and Weak spirits, who are ever in greater Number than the Wise ; But when it was necessary to Come to the Particular Affair, and to the Subject for which they were met, The Relief of *Cyprus* ; There was nothing so Cold, as they ; nothing less Treatable ; and after a long Debate and much Circumlocution about th^e Affair, They returned alwaies to their diversion ; That they much desired a League, and that all *Christendome* would Unite in a Common Quarrel ; That Forces should be Constantly on foot to Counterpoise and Check the *Turkish* Forces ; But after all this Discourse, they desired that their first Proposals might prevail, and for the present nothing Undertaken or Assaulted but on the Coasts of *Barbary*.

This League, as they had formed it, secured all their Estates, and no Design was ever better Contrived for them, nor more to their advantage ; for without Hazard of any thing, they put themselves into a Condition to gain much ; They reaped without sowing, and contrary to th^e ordinary disposition of the things of this World, their advantages Came purely to them, and without any Precedent or Subsequent Evil. The Levies permitted them to be made upon the Lands of th^e Ecclesiastiques, and the *Crossades* the Pope granted them in th^e Old and New world, gave them means to prepare a Fleet, and t^e Entertain the Ships they were obliged to furnish by the Conventions of the League ; They made no new Enemy, nor new War, They Continued only what they ever had with the *Turk* ; And carrying it into his Countrey they held it by Consequence at distance with theirs, as they had done their Coasts ; And without being Constrained to Fortifie with Garrisons and Ships, They became free from th^e Invasions of the Pyrates, whose Aid the *Turk* made use of at Sea, and of such petty Invasions, as ruined particular persons, and much Incommodated Trade, and they gained a great Reputation by that means in all places ; And with the great Forces they had in Readiness to pass from *Italy* into the Low Countreys, They kept all their Enemies in Check, and rendred themselves formidable from *Levant* to the *Ponant* with the same Forces.

The Condition of the *Venetians* was very different from theirs, and the present State of their Affairs had another Colour and Face ;

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They had an Enemy in hand, whose Friendship they were careful to cherish, and with whom they could not b'at difference without great losses, and without running of great danger; They were exposed, as it hath been already said, to the first Impressions of his Arms, and to the first strokes of the Tempest; some parts of their States by Sea, were at distance with th'others, and they could not relieve them but at great charges, and powerful Fleets; *Candy* alone was not less worthy of th'Ambition and Fortune of *Selim*, than the Kingdom of *Cyprus*, and that Island, which bridles the *Archipelagus*, and is the Passage, by which the Pirats of the *Ponant* ought of necessity t'enter, gives him as great cause of Jealousie as th'other, and no less desire of being their Master; And the nearness of the *Turk* to *Dalmatia*, *Esclavonia*, and *Frioul*, obliged them t'Arm on that side, and t'open all the veins of their Treasures to furnish so great an Expence. Notwithstanding all these Considerations, and all these difficulties, The League was concluded, The greater Interest over-swai'd the lesser, and the general Afrights, which threatned *Christendom*, recollected particular Affections, which had been estranged under a common design of Opposition, and to stop the Course, and repress the Violence of their Enemies. Since it hath been seen in the things which have preceded the Negotiation of the League now represented, what a dangerous Rock, and fatal Obstacle it is, to a Prince in trouble, to depend upon another to get out: It may not be unnecessary t'observe also the same Inconveniencies, and the same Stone of offence, in the things which have followed the Conclusion of that League.

When the League then was signed, and that each Confederate in the signing of it, had made his Reservation, as 'tis the custom, of some secret Intention, and some particular End, which he would not manifest; The time, which had been vainly spent in Deliberation, was redeemed in executing their Resolutions. The Confederate Forces were put to Sea with diligence, and the *Turk*, whom prosperity made insolent, and boasted, that he wished nothing more to *Christians*, than the courage t'attend him, heard that our Army fought him; In the mean time, his Army moved, and *Selim* knowing that ours drew towards his, would meet it half way, and take a part of th'advance, for to see ours, and to fight it. But though both Armies burnt with the same heat, and desired equally th'Encounter, 'tis a remarkable thing, that both of them were equally astonish'd at the first sight; so true it is, that Mans spirit stays not long in the same station; That the Sight of an Object hath another effect than the Thought of it; And that th'Apprehension of a danger, operates diversly, according to the nearness or remoteness of it; The two Generals onely, *Don John* of *Austria* for the *Christians*, and the *Bacha Aly* for the *Turks*, felt not the weight and chilness, which had seized th'Armies; And they resolv'd to fight, against the Judgment almost of all the Chiefs that did accompany them. *Don John* of *Austria* was violently

violently solicited by the Counsellors of *Spain* that were with him, Book II.
 not t' indanger the safety of all *Christendome*, and the fortune of his
 Master; They represented unto him, That although th'*Hazard* of
 the Battel was equal, the Consequences of the Victory were not the
 same; And that of Forces gathered together, as the *Christians* were,
 the like use could not be made, as of them which depended upon a
 single Prince, and were animated with the same Spirit, and carried
 on with the same Interest, as those of the *Turk*: But he, whose Soul
 was full of the Representation of the Glory this great Action pro-
 mised unto him, and of th' hopes of the Victory h'ought to gain,
 made them this Generous Answer, *That it was time to fight, and*
not to deliberate, and that he had no need of Reasonings or of Counsel
for that End, but of Courage and Execution. Th' Event deceived
 not his Expectation; Fortune declared for the *Christians*, and
 the Victory they gained, opened the way for them to fairer Suc-
 cesses, if the *Spaniards* had not Betrayed them: But they had done
 enough, and according to their Intention, which was, to prevent
 the *Turk* from making any new Progress upon the *Christians*, or that
 the *Venetians* should at their Charges repair themselves of their
 Spoils, and be revenged of their Losses. 'Tis certain, that if *Don*
John of Austria, after the Battel, had Advanced, in stead of Retire-
 ing, and had entred into th' *Archipelagus*, when all persons were
 affrighted, and under the consternation of the noise of that great and
 happy Event, H' had taken those Islands without Resistance, H' had
 shaken the Fortune of th' *Ottomans*, and *Constantinople* might have
 seen the *Crucifix* planted in the places, where the *Crescent* is added;
 And *Selim* having lost his best Maritime Forces in the Battel of *Le-*
pantha, and the Sieges of *Nicosia* and of *Pamagouste* having spent the
 best Men of his Land-Soldiers, he was almost void of Defence, and
 his Empire remained, like a great Body that shrunk with Weakness,
 and wanting Force to sustain it self, and to bear its proper Weight,
 falls of Necessity, so soon as it is Jostled.

Second Discourse.

Of th' Unhappy Condition of Small Princes.

I must not be conceived here, when I speak in the precedent Dis-
 course of Petty Princes, who've need of Relief from their
 Allies for their Conservation, and in pursuance thereof, have
 brought th' Example of the Republick of *Venice*; That I did intend to
 place that Common-wealth absolutely, and without Relation, in
 that Rank; or that I do not know, that amongst all the Princes of
Italy, there's none greater, or whose power is established upon
 more solid Foundations, and upon a more inmovable Basis; I had
 not then other aspect in th' Example made use of, than to make it
 appear, That 'tis a hard Chapter, and sad Necessity, to whomsoever

Book II. ver it happens, to depend upon anothers will, to repel a violence of Fortune, and to resist th' Effort of an Enemy, who being Superior in Forces, is ever carried with a hotter passion to Plunder and destroy, than any friend can be to Conserve and defend; That at the best, there is so much time to be lost, and so many Rocks to pass over, before a Conclusion can be had of a Treaty, that 'tis a wonder, if in the mean time, some shipwrack be not suffered, or some great Loss.

Moreover, though the Republick of *Venice* bears in it self much greatness, and from all times, hath joyned to the Truth of a considerable Power, the Reputation of an extraordinary Wisdom; Nevertheless, 'tis true, That opposing it to the Great *Signior*, and making a Parallel with that proud Dominator of *Asia*, of *Afrique*, and of a part of *Europe*, It stands obscured, and therein, 'Tis to compare the Course of a little Stream to the Rapidity of a great River.

A word more, since it will not be impertinent, and that the Thread of our Discourse leads us to it; Of the Destiny of Princes, who are little in themselves, or who have but a moderate strength; 'Tis a pitiful thing to see to what Necessity the Petty Princes are reduced to maintain themselves, and to how many Real Evils they are exposed to conserve that vain Image of Liberty, and that sweet Illusion of Sovereign Authority that doth bewitch them. In Expences, they consume themselves for their defence, and almost give All that might be taken from them, that Nothing might be taken from them; They are obliged to observe all the Fancies and Motions of their Enemies and Friends; And if they subsist, 'tis not by their Strength, because they have none, but by their Weakness, and because their Countries are of so little Concernment, that they beget not a Desire in Ambitious persons, nor that Justice should be violated in the Conquest of them; or they are under shelter from th' Enterprises of th' one, by the Jealousie of th' other, and preserve their Liberty, for that th' Ambitious hinder one another to seize upon them, and to become the Masters.

The Petty Republick of *Ragouza* maintains it self, by the Tribute it pays to the *Grand Signior*, and by the Presents it makes to the Great Persons of th' House of *Porta*, and th' Insolence of the Petty *Sangiacs*, their Neighbours, is restrained by Money; And it doth Homage to the King of *pain* to be free from disturbance; And permits, what may please the *Venetians*, who could be content to find some just occasion to possess themselves of it, if they durst, being a State very convenient for them, and seated in the midst of the *Gulf*, whereof they call themselves Lords; And it would make their Possession and Enjoyment the more complete and firm. There's no question, but the Duke of *Florence* would take from the Republick of *Luca*, the Liberty and Peace it enjoys, if *Spain* did not Support and Relieve it with its protection, which is not given but sold, as 'all th' others that depend upon it. It would be a great trouble to

th'House of *Austria*, if that State should fall to the Mercy of a Power, that might prove too great by this Addition; after it had been made considerable; And would recall, if it might, the Bounties, as it boasts, laid out upon it, or retain the Recompences, as th'other says, that have Rewarded their Service; What had become of *Geneva*, without th'Alliance of the *Suisses*, and without the Protection of *France*? Who knows not how often the Dukés of *Savoy* have resolved t'assault it with open Forces; upon th'hopes of promised *Spanish* Relief, when they were in Amity with it, and with th'*Holy Chair*? which had not failed, if they'd been engaged in an Enterprize, whole Appearance had been holy, and Pretence pious; And how often also (Fortune and th'Incounter of things having discomposed their Designs, and sent into smoak th'hopes of those Princes) have they formed Conspiracies, and prepared secret Parties to surprize and carry that place? That if they now believe themselves free from that fear during the Minority of the Duke of *Savoy*, under its particular dependency upon *France*; and if the *Suisses* also seem to them a stronger Rampart, than they were, by reason of the present Conjunction, which renders them more Considerable to them, from whom they had cause to fear; so 'tis, that this perpetual Vicissitude, which alters human Things, and that Incessant Motion, wherewith the Wheel of Fortune doth turn them, may produce such a Conjunction, when the *French* shall not have the Power, or the Will to protect them; And it would not be impossible, If the Revolution, which hath threatned *Germany* for many years, were Ended, But that it might extend to the *Suisses* Country, which is the Frontier, and that the Catholick Cantons might invade the Protestants, as they have often projected; And make by consequence the Rampart which defends *Geneva*, to fall on the Catholiques side. How much safer, and with greater advantage, might some of these petty Princes, be made the Government rather than under the protection of a great Prince? And might they not be happier to belong to a powerful Master, who would watch for their safety, and deliver them from the Fears and Expences they are at to conserve themselves? Their Privileges also would be as Entire as they are, and their Liberty greater; since at least, they should be Healed of the Passion, whereof hath been lately spoken, and of th'Importunate Pursutes made to them by those that Receive Pensions to Relieve them. The Princes to whom they shall give themselves, will be more concerned in their own Interest, than in what shall depend onely upon their Crown; And the Breach made in their Country, if it should be lost, would be much greater by th'Interest of Reputation, than if they lost it themselves, being upon their Faith, and charged solely with their defence; And the more they are at the devotion of their Friends, the more they will be indulged and in favour of their Inhabitants, lest they should be perswaded to some change, and that th'easiness of shaking off the Yolk they have voluntarily put on,

and

Book II. and to return to themselves, oblige them t'undertake it.

But Mans condition is subject to so much Weakness, and our Reason is assaulted with so many Errors, that not onely Particular persons, but whole Companies are often deceived in th'Election of the Good that is most proper for them, and are taken with the Pomp and Apparences, rather than with the Solidity and Truth of things; Or else truly, the Custome they've practised, and the Course exercised in some kind of Life, and in some form of Policy, is so strong a Band, and so powerful a Charm for them, who are taken with it, That 'tis very hard for them t'have so much as a thought to break and destroy; Or else th'Absolute Power and Sovereign Authority, are things so dear to them, who 'njoy them, That there's no Recompence for which they would quit them, and they had rather onely possesse the shadow with Notorious Inconmodities, than to live in th'easiest Dependency, and in the most commodious Subjection in the world; or at last, as there's nothing in this world, that hath not two faces, or Good, without Inconveniencies; so, though these Petty Princes are very sensible of the prejudice they suffer, to conserve the fancy of Sovereignty they Adore, the Matters of Subjection, be they never so pleasant, appear unto them more insupportable; And they would b' afraid, to worst their Condition in the Changing of it, and to quit a known and Certain Good, for a Doubtful and unknown Good; And exchange Evils, which the Newness would make Sharper and Heavier, for Evils, whose Custom had dulled the point, and allai'd the bitterness: What I have said, is not to prepossesse the thoughts of any person, nor to perswade, what a man hath not a will to believe, but onely to shew one of the faces of the Medal; That by such a Representation, they may the better judge of th'other; or else truly they may take it for a game of Wit, and for an exercise of Reasonings, which is void of Design and Consequence.

As to Princes, who have but a Moderate Power, as the Duke of *Savoy* for Example, There's no question but the Nearness of two great Crowns, betwixt which he is shur, is his Security; And the Jealousie th'one hath, lest th'other seize upon the Dukes Countries, and take away that Medium and Barrier, which makes betwixt their Territories the separation, sollicites them effectively t'hinder the Conquest of it with all their Forces. There's no doubt, I say, but the *French* had rather have that Duke for their Neighbour, than the King of *Spain*, and that the *Spaniards* would not bear any thing with more impatience, than to see the Domination of the *French* extend to the Dutchy of *Milan*, which is the Basis that bears the rest of their Countries in *Italy*.

In the second place, it seems a happy Fate for th'House of *Savoy*, to produce such excellent Princes for Peace and War; And that Heaven had granted them High Qualities to supply, what it hath denied them of Power; That with Wit and Courage they might make

make the Counterpoise to the Greatness and Powers of other Princes. Add, that th' Alliances of Blood, which they live from all times contracted with th' one of the two Crowns, and hath been desired for their particular Ends, have much relieved them in time of Need, and have not onely served t' hinder them from falling, but to raise them from their falls. And speaking freely, Though the Duke of *Savoy* have no greater wishes to make than for the good Intelligence of those two Crowns, nor any thing more t' apprehend than their Content, when they do fall out; Th' Ordinary Law of the Dukes Interest requires, That being unable to stand Newtral, he takes part with the *French*, and they ought not to do otherwise, unless some extraordinary Conjunction of Affairs doth exempt them from it, without running Hazard to be lost, and overcome with the Forces of a great Kingdom, before *Spain* hath means to stop th' Inundation, and to divert the Spoils; whereof, there are so many Instances, that no person can make a question of it. And not to speak of *Savoy*, which may be taken without much Resistance, and where there is but one Fort which may be made useles by a Block-house that may almost defend it self; Who knows not in how little time, *Charls*, led by the perswasion of his wife, being a *Portuguese*, and chained to the fortune of *Charls* the Fifth, was stripped of the best part of *Piedmont* by *Francis* the First, who had left his Posterity in their shirts, if the Virtue of *Philibert* his son, who defeated us at *St. Quintins*, and th' ill Fortune of *France*, had not opened by a Treaty of Peace, the Gate to many places formerly shut unto him, for many years of War? It would be a superfluous thing, no person being ignorant of it. To speak of the Conquest the late King made of all *Savoy*, and of the Progress he might have made in *Piedmont*, if a powerful Conspiracy that formed it self in th' Heart of his Kingdom, and the Reverence He bore the Pope, had not obliged him t' hearken to the Peace presented unto him from th' *Holy Chair*.

I pass also in silence th' Expeditions of the King in *Savoy* and *Piedmont*, which all *Europe* hath seen; To what extremities he forced the late Dukes of *Savoy*, in view of the *Spanish* and *Imperial* Forces, and in despite of their conjoyned Armies. The Dukes of *Lorraine* are not much different in Constitution, nor less obliged in Dependency upon th' Interests of this Kingdom, than those of *Savoy*. That if the present Duke *Charls* had well understood this Truth, which was of so great Importance to him; And if some evil Spirit, or rather some evil Counsellor, had not blinded him from seeing, what was so visible and so full of Light, H' had not suffered, as H' hath done; H' had not so often conspired against *France*, nor quitted the Way his Predecessors held to their Happiness, to cast himself upon By-ways, which have made him wander from his Interest, and have led him to the Precipice wherein he is now fallen; At least, if he had maintained Newtrality betwixt the Princes in War, and had been a Spectator of the Quarrel, without being a Party, H' had been in esteem

Book II. of both sides, and might have made use of the Fortune of both Parties, and his Country having been for some time one of the Theatres of the War, had not been one of the fairest Members of the Kings Conquests, and one of the principal Pieces of his Triumph.

Third Discourse.

wherein the Second Example is brought, spoken of in the First Discourse, to shew th' Artifices Princes use in assaulting of Foreign Princes, & binder their Friends to Relieve them.

THE second Example promised in the First Discourse, shall be taken also from the Republick of *Venice*, and from a difference had with th' House of *Austria*, upon the Subject of the *Uscques*. I will now give the whole Picture, for the Curiosity of the Reader, and that he may observe the more distinctly, and in their proper places, the Draughts which are of most importance for my design, and deserve a serious Pause, and a prudential Reflection. 'Tis a pleasure to see in the Lists two famous Combatants upon mutual Trials of their Skill; And they, who've Inclinations for th' Affairs of State, cannot be present at a more useful sight, than th' Encounter and Justle of the two Powers of *Spain* and the Republick of *Venice*, dextrous in th' Art of Reigning, and almost equally strong in Artifices and politique Stratagems; Such and the like Observations are the fruits that Ministers of State, in Reading of History, ought to make their principal Harvest; And are the true Lights they ought to be furnished with to guide their Conduct, and to clear the rich Matter, whereof their Knowledge ought to be composed to make up their Profession.

The Subject then of this Discourse shall be the disturbance of th' *Uscques*, which gave much trouble to the Republick of *Venice*, and travers'd it by the most sharp and intricate Negotiation, it ever managed; And determined at last in a War, which consumed a part of their Treasure, and caused an infinite number of their Men to perish.

Take the beginning and progress of this Affair. Th' *Adriatique* Sea, very famous in Antiquity for the great Pyracies exercised in it, was rendred by the care of the *Venesians* the safest Sea of the World; It was a protection for the Ships chased by the *Corsaires*, and for the safety of Navigation upon the coasts of some other Princes, as upon the Coasts of the Republick, and were not much troubled till *Soliman's* time, when th' *Uscques* did violate their security; yet they were quickly suppressed by th' Arms of the Republick, which by the Peace made with *Soliman* in the year 1639, was obliged to clear the Gulf from Pyrats, and to repair, at their Charges, the Damages, the Subjects of the *Grand Signior* should suffer in their Navigation

vigation upon that Sea. This Calm lasted during the Time of th' Book II.
Emperour *Rodolphus* and *Mathias*, and of th' Archdukes *Ferdinand*
and *Leopold*, and untill some of th' *Uscoques* did interrupt it, and the
Gulf was so much vexed with their Violence and Robberies, That
they extended them to the Republicques Havens, and in one of them
Robbed a Galley, and having killed all the persons in it, by a Barba-
rian Inhumanity of the New World, did Eat th' Heart of the Cap-
tain that Commanded it.

These *Uscoques* are a sort of People gathered of many Nations;
Croates, *Hungarians*, *Esclavonians*, and banisht persons from the Re-
publicque, who have neither Lands nor Industry, but Live and Main-
tain themselves by Rapines and Murders, And whom th' Enormity
of Crimes, and the Fear of Punishments, or the Lusts of an Irregular
Life, Exempt from the Bridle of Laws and Magistrates, have cast
upon a violent Association, and into a bloody Commerce; They
dwell in *Esclavonia*, otherwise called *Venade*, and anciently *Liburnia*,
under the Mountain *Morlache*, which makes a part of that, which is
called the Chain of the World; their principal Habitation and Den
of Theeves, are the Towns of *Segna* and the Fortrefs of *Serisa*, which
was taken from them by *James Zane*, Governour of *Dalmatia*. They're
Subjects to th' Emperour and to th' Archduke of *Grets*, who may
boast of Men at their Command, born only to d' Evill, and to be
the Flayl of other Men; As God hath under the Generality of his
Creatures, and in th' extent of his Empire, Devils, as good Angels,
Thundrings and Lightnings, as well as delectable and wholesome
Meteors. These persons then made Incurfions upon th' *Adriatique*
Sea, and though the pretence of their Robberies, was to make War to
the *Turk*; and as good Subjects, they Armed themselves with that fair
Colour, which is so familiar with their Masters; yet they did not
forbear to Rob and put *Christians* to Ransome, and above all Men,
the *Venetians*, as the *Turks*. And the Banner of *St. Mark*, was not
more Inviolable to them, than th' half Moon of *Constantinople*. Their
Inroads and Invasions stopped not at Sea; They Landed often, and
passing by the Lands of the Republicque forced into the *Grand Signiours*
Countries, from whence they took all they could carry away, and re-
turned Loaden with spoils, whereof the Richest and most Precious
were the Booty of the Officers of th' Empire, and of th' Archdukes;
Besides the Duties belonging to th' Admiralty, which they paid, as
'tis the Custome of Protected Pyrates, better than any people of the
World.

There was no need of this occasion, to put the *Turk* into an ill
humour against the *Venetians*, and t' Heat the Blood of those Avar-
itious Souls, who do not use to suffer Losses from their Christian
Neighbours, but are in perpetual Avarice to draw Tributes, or to take
somewhat from them; Quick expressions were made of it to the Re-
publicque, and their Resentments were accompanied with sharp
Complaints and Threatnings of Revenge, if they did not speedily re-

Book II. medy the disorder, and cause that evil to cease which increased daily, and strengthened by their Connivence.

This was the Real Design of the Princes of th' House of *Austria*, and chiefly of the *Spaniards*, who endeavoured to raise an ill understanding betwixt the *Venetian* and the *Grand Signior*, and to put them into disorder; That the Necessity of their Relief, if the *Turk* broke with the Republique, might take away their desire of Crossing them in the Plot they had laid to oppress the Duke of *Savoy*. But the Republiques Dexterity, which is as great as the World conceives it, and the Credit they had at the *Porte* which was not small, frustrated the *Spaniards* of their projected success; The Knowledge the *Turks* had of this Artifice, allayed th' Heat which began to inflame them, and retained Patience and Moderation in the Bounds which are not natural unto them.

The like Accident hapned during the disorder of th' Interdict, and a design drawn from the same Idea, and Cast in the same Mould, and had an End very like it, and fell away in the same Manner, whilst th' ill Intelligence betwixt the Pope and the *Venetians* was much inflamed, and that Matters of all sides enclined visibly to a breach. The *Spaniards* sent the Marquis of *St. Cross* with forty Gallies into *Albana*, who took and plundered *Duras* a Town belonging to the *Turk*, and of some Reputation in that Province, Their intention was not to Incommode the *Grand Signior* by the Taking of a Place where they had no Hold, and could not take Root, They pretended only to awaken by that Enterprize the proud Enemy, and to oblige him to Revenge that affront, which could not be executed, but part of the Burthen of the War must fall upon the *Venetians*, and that their Countries would make out the first Scean where th' Ensigns of the *Turks* Armes would be displayed, or at least, that they would pass by their Gulf to assault the Coasts of *Naples*, which would give a great Cause of Jealousie, and of Expence to the *Venetians*; but the *Grand Signior* having given vent to the Mine, no prejudice fell upon them against whom it was prepared; But instead of assaulting the States of the Republique, He sent to offer them his Forces against the *Spaniards* and the Pope, and Commanded *Glassar Bassa* with five and fifty Gallies to Advance towards *Gomonics* near *Corfu*, to Joyn with the General *Paschaligo* as often as it should please the *Venetians*, who had not the Will or the Necessity to make use of a Remedy, whose Operation was most Dangerous, or to enter into a Society wherein there was for them but a little Hope, and much Fear.

Lets return to our Subject, The Republique seeing that th' Affairs of th' *Misques* required a prompt Remedy, and that from that Root might bud, if it were not timely Cut off, some great Accident to their prejudice, put themselves into a posture to Repress it; for that purpose it tryed first, as 'tis their Custome, the way of Negotiation and Endeavours, before their Taking up of Armes; but in all their Transactions they received Words only without Effect, and perpetual Changes

Changes were given them, studied Invasions, and disguised Deceits, Book II. and no Proceeding was ever more Oblique, more Empry, and more Irresolute than what was practised upon them. When the Republique solicited th' Emperour to suppress th' Attempts of th' *uscoques*, and to divert their violences, they were remitted to th' Archdukes as Governours of the Countrey where th' *uscoques* dwelt; when they repaired to th' Archdukes for the same effect, They answered, that it belonged to th' Emperour, as Sovereign, to provide against it, and not to them, who had but a subaltern power; when they had brought their Answers together, and put them in a condition to make no further use of Collusion and Deceits, They said, that th' Affair would be best determined in a Dyet of *Hungary*, which should be called, because the place of th' *uscoques* Dwellings were dependent, and a Feife of that Kingdome; Sometimes they protested, that it did not belong to them to receive Immediate Addresses, but to the Count *Sofimo* and to *Frangipani* as to the particular Lords of those places; That Order was to b^e observed, and the Degrees of inferiour Jurisdictions tryed before Address could be made to the Supreme Authority.

But after many Evasions and Windings, wherewith the Republique was delayed; It declared, that their Patience was abused, & that it would assume the Right of a Sovereign, and take Reason of them, who'd refused it. Agents were sent unto them in the Name of th' Emperour and of the Catholique King, who promised that satisfaction should be given them, and that Complaints should be removed. But all their proffers proving to be Wind, and Vain and hollow promises, and the Republique having been long and too often Cheated by them, and preparing in Earnest to Carry by Force, what they could not Gaine by 'ntreary, Commissaries were sent upon the places, who Banished or put to Death some of the Meaneſt and Least Culpable of th' *uscoques*, Touched not upon the Chiefs, or upon th' other most Considerable Members, But Cut off some Light and Unprofitable Branches of Evill, and left entire the Body and th' other parts of the Tree. And so the Disorder being rather Pruned than Rooted up by this Proceeding, sprouted more freely than before; And resembled to the waters of a stopped Torrent, which over-flows with the greater impetuosity and Ruine, Th' obstacle which held them in being taken away, than when the Waters run at Liberty, and their force not provoked by the Restraint. There's cause of Astonishment in the Number of Treaties, which were had upon that dispute, as of the success, and as it were of the destiny of those Treaties, whercof not one was Executed, and that all of them vanished into smok. There was a Treaty at *Ratisbone*, at *Limz*, at *Pragne*, and principally at *Vienna* of the 12. of May 1612. By which it was Agreed that th' Archduke *Ferdinand* should Clear th' *Adriatique* Sea of Pyracies, and t^e hinder them of *Segna* to Rob on that Sea; But th' hour of Execution was deferred, and the *Spaniards* had use of the Continuance of th' Evill

Book II.

Evill, and that the Republique should be diverted out of *Italy* ; That it might not be forward to look after the *Spanish* proceedings in *Piedmont*, and give less Heat to th' Affairs of the Duke of *Savoy*. All the Commissioners sent to execute the Treaties, fell sick on the way, and were recalled by an affected pretext ; And some Accident ever Intervened, which Disappointed the Republique of th' Hopes, wherewith it was so long fed, and made to know that Nothing but Iron could cure th' Ulcer which had Eaten to the bone, and festred by their Connivence.

This made the Republique to resolve upon a War against th' Archduke *Ferdinand*, and to hinder th' Evill from streaming any further to fight it in the Spring ; for this purpose, they commanded *Gradisque* to be besieged, and spared neither Money nor Men to Recover that place, which had been built against th' Invasion of the *Barbarians* in *Istria*, and opened them the Way to the Conquest of *Goritia*. The Republique with these two places, as with a stretched Chain, had shut up the passage to the *German* Troops, which might have descended into the *Friol* by the Mountains of *Carso*, and by the River of *Lizonso*. This conveniency was of great Importance to the *Venetians*, and th' opportunity of putting a powerfull Bar betwixt the *German* Territories and theirs, whereof they have alwaies Apprehended th' Inundation, gave occasions to some, to say, vwho measure alwaies the Designs of another, by their own Rule, and know no other Law or Act by but their Profit, That the Proceedings of th' *Uscoques*, were but the Pretext of that War, and that the Conquest of these two places was the Cause. But they who Consider the pressing Interest the Republique had to repress th' Attempts of th' *Uscoques*, and the perilous Consequences which would arise to their prejudice by a longer Patience, will easily judge that they could not do less ; And that in case their Conduct was to be blamed, It was for too much slowness and flegm, and by discovering too great an Insensibility, which emboldned th' Insolence of their Enemies, and encreased th' outrages that were Acted against them. This is not the proper place of reporting the progress of that War, or the different faces that Fortune shewed, sometimes in favour of th' Archdukes, and sometimes in favour of the *Venetians*, and of the *Spaniards*, and to represent the various Means wherewith two powerfull Princes, as hath been said, in Artifices, and politique Prudence, made War, and the Mines and Counter-mines wherewith they mutually assaulted and defended themselves. The Breach made betwixt the *Venetians* and th' Archdukes, and the War growing Hot on both sides, The Duke of *Offona*, whose humour was naturally troublesome, and who, as the Natural Heat cleaves to the Radical Humidity, when outward Aliment fails ; not finding abroad Matter enough for disturbance, raised it in the Countries of his Master, which was the cause of his Ruine. The Duke of *Offona*, I say, notwithstanding the Continuation of the Peace with *Spain* ; Armes at Sea to Trouble the Republique ; Scoures the Gulf

Gulf under the conduct of *Alonzo Rivera*, takes away Ships, and to Book II. be in a posture in case of necessity to be disavowed, and by an Artifice worthy of the *Spanish* spirit, sets forth this Fleet under his own Ensigns; But th' affairs growing by time more and more grievous, and th' Animosity of the Parties becoming stronger by the various accidents, which the War daily produced; He displayed the Royal Ensigns, and by a Novelty of latter Times, and unknown to former Ages, makes War without declaring of it, or confessing it to be made. That all this was done, It was said, by form of diversion, and t' exchange it with the *Venetians*, who fomented underhand, as it hath been reported else-where, the Duke of *Savoy*, and paid him every Month a certain sum of Mony to maintain the War on *Piedmont* side; And that the *Spaniards* being exercised by that Prince, might not touch upon their Frontiers, unfurnished of old Soldiers, and provided onely of Men, who served to make up the Number, as the *Militias* of *Italy*. The danger on the Land-side, which vexed the *Venetians* more than the *Spanish* Enterprises at Sea; And the Jealousie of conserving their *Campagna*, wherein they are more sollicitous than any Persons of the world, occasioned, that they resolved to cause some form of Accommodation to be proposed in *Spain*, betwixt th' Arch-dukes and themselves; And to comprehend also the Duke of *Savoy*, with whom they were in society of Interests, and in some sort in community of Fortune. It was t' oblige the Catholique King upon that deference, not t' undertake upon their Estates, and not to treat them as Enemies, who had chosen him Arbitrer of their differences, and committed their affairs so freely unto him. This Proceeding might have sweetned the Courage of the *Spaniards*, if they had been as Magnanimous as Proud, and allai'd th' Indignation they had conceived against the *Venetians*, by reason of the War they made to the Arch-dukes, and the secret Aid they gave to the Duke of *Savoy*.

But in stead of softning the *Spaniards* by this great Respect which was offered them, and abating of their Animosity, by a Submission that did them so much honour; They xpressed the greater difficulty, and resisted the more t' hear of any Accord. They were Exalted the more for th' Humility of the *Venetians*, and taking them for Persons that wanted Courage or Power, they handled them with Reproaches and Threatnings, they seemed without doubt the more Froward to be the more Entreated; They believed to find less resistance in making the Conditions of the Treary, by th' Indisposition they shewed in Intermeddling in th' Accommodation, and conceived, that they who were in the dirt, would think themselves happy to be delivered, though they were rudely drawn out, and that there was not a Haven too Incommodious to them, who were secured from shipwrack. But they were deceived, for th' affairs of the Republique were not then so desperate, as to repair to dishonorable Means t' establish it, and it never fell into such desperate disgraces, but that
it

Book II.

it was always in power to rise again with honour. That the *Spaniards* in effect, were more reserved than th' had been, to offend the *Venetians*, and that they did not violate on the Land-side the Peace th' had made with them, were the things th' effected, and the principal Intention and Design of the *Venetians*.

The Proposition of th' Accommodation being abortive at *Madrid*, and th' humour of the *Spaniards* and of the *Venetians* Incompatible for that time; The differences were remitted to *Rome*, where the difficulties which interrupted the Peace were no more taken away than in *Spain*; for, as the *Pope* was suspected of passion in favour of the *Spaniards*; and that in th' Affair then acted, there were some also who believed, That the *Pope* was not dextrous enough to manage it, and would not willingly give others the glory to determine it; So th' Inclinations of their Ministers of State in *Italy*, were too strongly carried to War, that produced a present and certain Profit, which they had not in time of Peace, Accompani'd with th' hopes of some famous Success, which would have rendred their Administration remarkable. And they endeavoured still to gain Time, and the Game was plaid till the *Spanish* Arms had gained Reputation in the taking of *Verceil*; And the fears the *Venetians* had, that the *Spaniards* would not be restrained in the Frontiers of the *Milanois*, but over-run their Country, being by that Accident Encreased, They re-took the Paths they had quitted in relation to *Spain*, and to replay their old Piece, but much better adjusted, and with more Colour, to desire a Conclusion than they had done the first Time. The *Spaniards* also gave over their subtilties & *Rodomontadoes*; The Duke of *Lerma*, a Person of a pacifique humour, and who had long sought for some specious way to get off with honour from the War of *Italy*, embraced the Conjunction; It could not be more advantageous to th' Affairs of his Master, because the Peace came after the Victory, nor more favourable to his particular Affairs, because by that Means he discharged *Don Pedro* of *Toledo* from the command of th' Army, who was of a contrary faction, and began to lessen the Dukes Cabinet power, wherein th' other was in his proper Sphere, by the glory of his Actions done in the Field. He receives then with great Approbation the Proposals of the *Venetians*, promiseth to remember th' honour they did his Master, by the most profitable and most honorable Conditions he could procure them, and no Treaty ever had th' Apparance of a more certain Conclusion than this.

But as Tempests are not more frequent at Sea, than Revolutions at War, and that the Constitution of *Piedmont* had that in particular in it, As to observe the form of the *French* Government, and was dependent upon th' Inconstancy and Changes of a Court, which at that time was more Changeable and Uncertain than ever; It happened, that the Marshal of *Ancre*, a passionate friend for the *Spaniards*, and a great Promoter of their Interests, being suddenly killed; And the Spring he held shut up of the principal Reliefs, which ought to have

have passed to the Duke of *Savoy*, being opened by his death; such great numbers of *French* passed into *Piedmont*; That the Duke found himself in a condition to make his Enemies Army to quit the Field, which the Siege of *Verceil* had much disordered; That by taking of many Towns, he took from them the Remainders of their Army; That he was ready to force into the *Milanois*; and that 'twas in his power to give fear to the City of *Milan*, if the course of the Victory had not been interrupted from *France*, and the Thunder restrained that was ready to break out on the *Spaniards*; And Fortune that had ill used the *Venetians* before *Gradisque*, began to declare in their favour, and a glorious Re-enforcement of *Hollanders*, under the conduct of Count *John* of *Nassau*, promised them an happy success, and quick Reducement of that place, which had cost them great sums of Money, and much Foreign and Intestine Blood.

In this Change of fortune, and in this new face of Affairs, the *Venetians* changed proceedings in relation to the *Spaniards*, and took off the Masque under which they then concealed their Intentions, which never were, That the *Spaniards*, so powerful and formidable in *Italy*, by reason of th'Estates they there possessed, should become the Judges of the Quarrels there rais'd, and add to the Powers they had in *Italy* th'Authority of determining the Differences, and to regulate th'Affairs, wherein they'd no power; They commanded it then to be told the Catholique King, That their Ambassador had no command to make other addressees t' him, than to know his Sense, and take his Advice upon the Matter of the War of *Gradisque*, and that of *Piedmont*; And that they 'ntended to consult him, as a Friend in that Matter, but not to refer the Decision t' him, and to constitute him for Judge. And so giving the *Spanish* King thanks in magnificent Terms, and in words of great Respect, which they've accustomed to lay down in abundance upon things they've no Will to grant, They disappointed the *Spaniards* of their design, and reserved for *France* th' Honour, the *Spaniards* had passionately desired; So that in the whole course of this Intrigue, and in all this Cabinet-War, the Field remained to the *Venetians*, who found not nevertheless their Account in *France*, but either th'Interest of the State, or the Genius of the Ministers of State, too much carried t'oblige *Spain*; or for fear of disoblighing it; Was the cause, that too great a respect was had to the Dignity of that Crown, or too little to that of the Republique, and to th'Interests of the Duke of *Savoy*. Th'Emperors and th'Arch-dukes discontentments had upon this Peace against the *Spaniards*, is not to b' here concealed, nor their Complaints against an Accommodation, that had not better'd their Condition, but had return'd them to the posture they were in by the Treaty of *Vienna*, and had put them into th'Haven, from whence they were put out, after th'expence and hazards of an unprofitable Navigation. Thus the *Spaniards* have accustomed, to sacrifice to their Interests some of their best friends, and to strain them to their

Book II. Ends, without Exception of Means or Persons. Th' use of this Artifice was not new in the world, nor th' Invention of the *Venetians*; It was practis'd long ago by *Charls* th' Eighth, to divert *Henry* the Seventh the King of *England* from relieving the Duke of *Britany*, to whom h' had a purpose to make War; T' allay then the storm that might arise from that side, and stop the Relief which *Henry* might bring or send in favour of his Neighbour, *Charls* made a shew of desiring the Peace, and offered to submit t' *Henry* the differences h' had with the Duke, and t' acknowledge him Arbitrer and Mediator of the Quarrel. *Charls* with this delicate Bait and subtil Charm of Honour, disarm'd *Henry's* warlick spirit, who was fully engaged with affections and inclinations t' Aid the Duke of *Britany*; But *Charls* made so powerful and quick a Levy, and rais'd such great Forces, that the Duke was over-run before notice was taken of it in *England*, That *Charls* was entred into his Country with an Army, and the Tragedy ended before it was known that the first Act was plaid.

Fourth Discourse.

Some Rules that Princes, and especially they that are Weak, ought t' observe, when they have need to make use of the Relief of their Friends.

IN the precedent Discourse hath been seen th' unhappy Destiny of Weak Princes, when they are assaulted by Powerful Princes, and the various Artifices exercis'd t' hinder or slacken the Reliefs, which might come to them from their Friends. But since 'tis necessary, that there be such Princes in the world, and that in the distribution of the parts of that little Engine, for which men give themselves so much Labour, and make so great a noise, Equality hath not been observed; 'Tis of necessity that the Weaker follow the General Law, and remain the Prey of the Stronger, wh' assault them, or that they seek protection from them wh' are able to give it, and secure themselves under the shadow of their Authority, or by the force of their Arms; Some Rules are to b' observed, as of Importance to be known; The first is; That they make the strongest preparation in their power t' oppose th' Enemy that comes t' assault them, and to resist his first Impetuosity, which ordinarily is the most violent, and put by their first strokes, which are ever the most Dangerous.

For this purpose, and in this publick Necessity, they're to sell or engage their best and most precious things; To sink deep into the purses of their Friends, and upon their Subjects to make great Levies; And 'tis better for their Subjects t' endure a little blood-letting, and for a short time, by their Prince, than totally and for ever ruin'd by Strangers; And a wasted Country, as 'tis said, is better for him than

than a lost Country; and Subjects a little plundered, than Subjects Book II.
constrained to change Master; And though they cannot long bear that extraordinary Levy, nor resist that excessive Charge, It may fall out, that th'Heat of th'Assailant may grow cold by a greater Resistance made on the sudden than was expected; And may not b' offended at Proposals of Accommodation, and that a door b' opened unto them to get out with Honour from an Enterprize, whose Beginnings being unhappy, the Progress might b' abated without doing more than making of a Noise, and may return to th'Haven without other danger than the fear of a Tempest.

Or if th' Enemy do not withdraw upon th' ill usage Fortune affords them at the first Attempt, and refuse to quit the place, or to retire; In gaining of time they've done much, which is the great Remedy of Unfortunate and Weak persons, and gives Means to their Friends to come to their Relief, and to bring them fresh Troops, wherewith they may not onely maintain themselves, but cause the face of War to change, and turn the Defence int' an Assault, and become th'Assailants of their Enemies. The Duke of Savoy, Grand-father of the present Duke, did the like, since the death of the late King, in the Wars the *Spaniards* made him, or H' had been suddenly over-run at the first sight, and swallowed by the *Spanish* powerful Armies, wherewith the Governour of *Milan* entered *Piedmont*, and gave fear t' all *Italy*, but to that Prince; And yet, with that wise and bold proceeding, he not onely received and resisted their first assaults, but gave them affronts; And precedent it hath been observed, that after the loss of *Vercel*, which had it been well defended might have been kept, strengthened by that fair and flourishing Relief *Sir* of *Esdiguieres* brought unto it, who put the *Spaniards* upon the Defensive, and compelled them to desire Peace, which was concluded at *Paris* to their Advantage.

The second Rule is, That as great sums of Money are to be expended, and a great Army to be raised, 'tis of great importance to make them timely, and not t' expose them to th'hazard of surprises, which being dangerous in all sorts of affairs, are much more in the business of War, and d'ordinarily make breaches, by which ill fortune enters so far into the Country, That it proves a difficult matter to drive it out; And it often falls out, that they die of those strokes, or are long sick of them; And 'tis what sometimes hath been to be desired by way of Addition, to the Wisdom of the *Venetians*, and to their excellent Conduct; Their Historians also confess, That one of the causes of the loss of the Kingdom of *Cyprus*, was the delays they used in preparing against the Storm which they saw coming. And in the Motions, which troubled *Italy* about the Succession of the last Duke of *Mantoua*, we've seen them Arm slower than was necessary for their very design, and have suspended many times th' Orders and Commissions they'd given for the War, upon uncertain and wild reports of a Treaty of Peace, and

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were only a studied Deceit, and an affected Artifice of the *Spaniards*, for to possess them with a coldness and relaxation of spirit; 'Tis certain at least, That if after the King had forced his passage at *Suza*, and taken away the Barrier that shut up their Entry into *Italy*, They had not recalled th'Orders given to their General t'enter into *Cremona*, They had taken of the *Spaniards* some eminent Advantage, whilst they wanted Forces, failed of Courage, and th' Inclinations of the people were adverse unto them.

Who can, I say, doubt, but if they had taken possession of *Cremona*, which opened her Arms unto them, and breathed after so easie a Yoke, as theirs; but that they had greatly fortifi'd the Party which they favoured, and had obliged, it may be, by that Declaration, the *Spaniards* t'have observed the Peace of *Suza*, and t'have caused to be sent to the Duke of *Mantona* th'Investitures Accorded by that Treaty, rather than t'have shut themselves up betwixt two so considerable Powers as *France* and *Venice*, and some other Forces, which *Venice* might have drawn t'its assistance? or if the War had re-kindled, as it did the following year, and the *Spaniards* touched with th'Affronts they received from all parts, had been forward at any price to take revenge of the shame by Arms; The War without all doubt had taken another form, If the *Venetians* had been Engaged in it; *Mantona* in Apparence had not been lost; All the designs of th'Enemies had been Abortive; And instead of th'unhappy success of th' Expedition of *Valese*, for being undertaken too late and with precipitation, The Republique had seen the fruits ripen at leisure, if it had been timely acted, of so generous a Design, and without much hazard; Nor had it been for that Action the more Hated of th'House of *Austria*; It had been the more respected; And all *Italy* had taken the greater courage for defence of the common Liberty, if it had had before their Eyes so great an Example of Courage from them, who give every day so great Examples of their Wisdom. But however, 'tis the Lot of Human Wisdom to be sometimes defective, or rather, 'tis the property of Evil Events to b'always attributed t'Unreasonable Causes; or else 'tis the Nature of all th'affairs that are put in Deliberation t'have many faces and reasons of all sides, which encline t'Act or not t'Act one manner or other; 'Tis the Priviledge of Fortune, or to speak more Christianly, the Right of Providence, which governs the World, to frustrate, or cause to b'observed, as it shall seem good, the reasons of th'effects intended, and of the promised success.

The third Rule shall be, That if the Prince, who is assaulted, endeavours t'execute what hath been advised him to do, and yet shall have need of Relief from his Allies to make th'Evil to cease, or to stop th'Enemies further progress, He must make use of their Forces for Diversion, and cause them to march into th'Enemies Country, if he be not over-pressed in his own Country, and if th'Evil he feels or fears may attend that Remedy. By that means he may ease his
Country

Country of them, who would have laid it waste, and had sworn the Book II.
ruine of it, and will secure it also from the spoil of Auxiliaries,
which cannot b' avoided; And which may properly be compared to
Physicians, who cannot cure the body without th' use of it, nor drive
away th' ill humours which cause Alteration, without the disordering
of it, and without leaving also sometimes some Ill Impression. As
to the success of this Diversion, 'tis Impossible, but it must prosper,
and have th' effect it Aims at, because it hath the character and mark
of efficacious diversions, and to b' executed upon a Country, which
is ordinarily of greater Importance, and of stronger Concernment,
being his own, to th' Enemy, than that from which they would force
him; And there's no apparance, That a wise Physician will neglect
th' Heart, or some other Noble part, t' intend the cure of a light Con-
tusion, or of some small Scratch.

Let's also say, before return be made t' our principal Subject, and
for the better clearing the Matter of Diversion, which will not much
divert us, and is a Neighbour to't, That one of the most memorable
and the most judicious Diversions, which the past Age hath seen,
was that which *Francis* the First made upon the *Spaniards*, when the
Constable of *Bourbon*, the Marquis of *Pescary*, and th' other Chiefs
of th' Imperial Army, came t' assault *Provance*; Instead of marching
streight t' oppose them, and to fight them in his Kingdom; He
marched quickly with his Army int' *Italy*, and fell upon the State of
Milan, and upon the Country in most favour with th' Emperor, and
upon the parts of all the rest of his Estates, which were dearest t'
him next to *Spain*; nor was he disappointed of his Thoughts; for
th' Imperial Army failed not at the first Noise of that Expedition to
quit *Provance*, and to march towards *Italy* with so strange a Nimble-
ness, and such an Incredible Diligence, That it prevented our Ar-
rival in the State of *Milan*, and gave means to recruit and fortifie
some places, which were the security of the rest.

That if the Subsequent Success was as fatal to us, as the first fa-
vourable; And if the Cause of that War was Ended in th' Imprisonment of King *Francis*, and by the Ruine of his Army; This Dis-
grace ought not to b' Attributed to the Nature of the Diversion,
which was very pertinent; nor a Prudential Cause charged with the
production of a Malignant Effect, which proceeded from another
Cause; This Disgrace, I say, is to b' attributed to the design of For-
tune, which undertook to mortifie *French-men* by th' ill Conduct of
their Prince, and by the faults of His Ministers of State, and by that
unhappy and undiscrēt Diversion, which he made upon the King-
dom of *Naples*, whither he sent the Duke of *Albany* with a part of
his Army; For besides the great Weakness it brought to the Re-
mainder of his Forces, and the fair Game it made for his Enemies
t' advance for th' Assault, as they failed not to do in that Weakness;
He considered not, that the Kingdom of *Naples* being less Import-
tant to th' Emperour, and of less Esteem with him, than the State
of

Book II. of *Milan*, His Army could not abandon the *Milanois* to Relieve *Naples*.

The Fourth Rule, That if an inevitable Necessity b' upon a Prince, to procure Foreign Forces to march int' His Country, and strengthen his Army; It may b' of great advantage t' him t' have need onely of moderate Forces, and such as b' inferior t' his; That he may always give the Law, and receive no Jealousie from them, lest they should put him int' a kind of Subjection in the sight of his Subjects, and abate the glory of Authority which governs his People, and th'opinion of his Greatness, by that mark of Dependency, wherein he must unavoidably fall upon the Reception of strange Armies. I speak not of other Inconveniencies, which may arise upon th'introduction of Strangers into a Country, and particularly, if Ambition enters with the Power, or if the Beauty of the Country, or Riches of th'Inhabitants, may serve them for Temptation to desire it, who being born under a Rigorous Climate, and in Salvage Countries, are but too much tempted to change Dwellings, and to gain Richer Habitations. *Philip*, father of *Alexander*, by such an Invitation, attempted the Liberty of *Greece*, whereof the *Romans*, as hath been observed, made a Conquest. That the *Goths*, the *Vandals*, and other *Septentrionals*, have possessed themselves of their Countries, who called them to their Relief; And that six thousand *Turks* marching from *Asia* into *Europe*, to serve th'Emperours of *Constantinople*, charmed with the sweetness and felicity of that pleasant Country, invited their Country-men t'establish themselves in *Europe*; And it was the first cause of the Revolution of that Empire. Wherefore wise Princes and Republicques, well instructed in th' Art of Governing, have at all times avoided th'Use of so dangerous a Remedy, and th'Exercise of a Means so full of Jealousie, as th'Introduction of a great Foreign Army into their Country. In the War which th'ancient *Romans* made against *Pyrrhus*, and when by the gain of some Battels, that brave Prince had shaken the foundations of that Republicque, They refused the *Carthaginian* Army, sent to their Relief under the command of *Mago*, and resolved in that great Extremity t' owe onely to Virtue and to their own Powers, the Re-establishment of their Affairs, and the Return of their Fortune.

After the Rout of *Giragdade*, and the sad success of that Battel, which at one Blow took from the *Venetians* all their Lands; The Republicque would not accept th' offer of Forces made them by *Bajazet* the Second, nor use that Means to deliver themselves of th'ill fortune that pursued them, which was violent, and to get out of a Precipice which was dangerous; 'Tis certain, that their ill fortune could not be greater, nor the Precipice deeper; All *Christendome* was combined against it, and a powerful victorious Army; And it had lost an Army, when it was impossible for them to raise another; Terror and Despair entred int' all their Towns, upon the
Noise

Noise of this Disgrace; And by a strange Motion of Prudence, and an Extraordinary Act of Policy, it was constrained t'advise their Subjects t'open their Gates to the Victorious, and to do that without breach of Duty, or guilt of Treason, which the Consternation they were fallen into, and the Current of th'Enemies Victory would have forced upon them; And yet, chose rather to seek safety and resurrection in its Wisdom, and in the sole Means left to restore it self, by th'Employing of all their strength; for the Disunion of the Confederates, and Breach of the League, than to draw into their Country those barbarous Soldiers, from whence they could not withdraw them when they would, or t'expose *Italy* to the same condition, the Neighbour Provinces to *Constantinople* were in, under the *Turk*, as hath been formerly spoken.

In the growth of Heresie in this Kingdom, and of the first fires which burnt it for the matter of Religion; *Francis* the second refused *Philip* his Brother in Law, who fearing that the Contagion of th'Error and Treason, which reigned amongst us, should pass into *Flanders*, and complete the Corruption of his Subjects, that had then taken some taste of it, sent to make offer of all his Forces to fight them; The Duke of *Alva* also, after h' had obtained in the *Low-Countries* many happy Successes against the Rebels of his Master, besought *Charls* the Ninth to give him leave to bring 15000 Foot and 5000 Horse, all Men of War, and accustomed to Victory, to reduce his Subjects t'Obedience.

But the King, by th'advice of his Council, refused also that offer, and would not in accepting of it, either discover the Weakness of his Reign, or give to the factious Religionaries more pretence to call strangers to their Relief, and to them the more colour of coming into his Country; or t'introduce into th'Heart of his Kingdom an Army of valiant Persons, whom He could not easily drive away, who would have demanded places of security for their Entry, and Immense Damgages for their Return, and might in time be the cause of a more difficult and longer War than what troubled him. That whereas a part onely of his Subjects were in question, and that the Rebels to be reduc'd to reason, made a profession of fidelity, and by consequence might easily be disarmed by Indulgence, when it should appear too dangerous to repress them by Force; H' had been under the Necessity of a defence against his Subjects and Neighbours, and to fight Enemies, wh' having some Title of Justice, and making War without Remorse or Scruple of Conscience, would have made it the more violent, and the less susceptible of Accommodation.

From what hath been now said, a fresh Rule to clear it may be raised; That an Army of Forein Forces to be drawn int' a Princes Country, and in so great a number, as to give the Law, or raise Jealousie in him that Implies them, is to be avoided; And that H' observe, also if it be possible, two things; T'Endeavour, that the stranger Forces

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Forces depend more upon the Prince that calls them in and pays them, than upon him who leads them in and commands them; And that their Relation to him be stronger and more absolute, than their Dependency upon their Commander. Th' other thing is, to hinder their Conjunction in a Body, and to keep them always sever'd, if there be not special cause to draw them together; and to re-joyn them. The *Venetians* not long since Endeavoured to divide the Troops, which the *Sir of Roquelaure* brought them, and to take the Command from him: And the *Hollanders* laboured to do the like to the Count of *Mansfield*, after he had Relieved *Bergenopson*; But they met with bold spirits that resisted their Artifices, and defeated the subtil Attempts of their Policy; 'Tis true, That this Trial is not to be made upon any Persons, but Casual Chiefs, who depend onely upon their Sword, and upon the Prince that Imploys them, and having drawn together such Troops by their Industry and Credit, maintain them also in Dependency by their Authority and Address.

As to th' Impeding the Conjunction of Forces, that might make great and considerable Bodies, 'Tis an undubitable Means to divert the Disorder, and to prevent the License, which of custom grows in Mercenary souls, from th' Hopes of Impunity; As th' hopes of Impunity are usually ingendred from the multitude of Culpable persons: From this Root, Sedition and Mutinies have often budded in th' Antient and Modern Armies; And the boldness of the *Pretorian* Troops, did heretofore stream from this spring, in killing and choos- ing their Emperours, and abused too often the Royal Purple, in taking it away, and giving it to whom they pleased, by that blind incitement, which animates Courages, and being not Regulated by Reason, are not restrained by Respect or Fear. *Seianus*, the greatest Favorite of all Ages, and the first Example the world hath seen of excessive Favour, Having the Command of the *Pretorian* Troops, resolved to draw them together, To render himself the more formidable by the quick and present Relief had in hand of the best Soldiers of th' Empire; The Soldiers provided their Quarters, and drew them into the form of a Cittadel to Command *Rome*, and to hold in subjection the Capital City of the World. The great number of *Fanissaries*, which the *Grand Signior* keeps at *Constantinople*, is the cause of the Tumults which often arise there, and of th' Insolencies they commit in that City, which are extended sometimes to the violating of the *Seraglio*, the *Grand Signior's* Palace, To compel their Prince to deliver unto them his Favourites, To do Justice, as they say, upon them, and not to spare his Person; but even to kill him. That if the Prince ought to avoid with great care, and for the Consequences which have been represented, the drawing together of a great Number of his subject Soldiers; He ought much more to be careful to keep them sever'd, so long as it may conveniently be done, who depend not upon Him; but by the consideration, as strangers do, of their Pay; And respect him at the Rate they

they fear Him, and fear Him at the Rate of his power to Punish Book II.
them.

The sixth Rule is; That a Petty Prince Assaulted by a Greater, wh^o hath need of a more prompt and Efficacious Remedy, than Diversion, against the Violence that oppresseth him, before He resolves to receive int^o His Countrey a Forcin Army, stronger than his own, and to give him places if they be demanded for Security and Retreat, ought to make a just and exact Comparifon of th^e Evills, to which he doth expose Himself in the doing of it; and of them, he must of necessity fall into, if He do it not; ought t^o Examin Coldly and without Passion, the Nature and Circumstances of th^e Affair which vexeth him; The conditions of his Enemies and of his Friends; The Faith and Ambition of all of them; The conveniency of his Countries or of any of his places for them; And the Comparifon and Examination being made of th^e Inconveniencies, he must run of all sides, H^e ought to make Choice of the least offensive; H^e ought t^o Agree with his Enemies, if they are tractable, or make use of the Relief of his Friends, if they are Faithfull; And when H^e hath made a good Choice, and shall put into th^e Haven without Shipwrack, He must praise God for it, as his peculiar Grace and Extraordinary Favour.

The last Rule is; That in General, a Prince ought if He can't have one or two Fortresses, for the security of his Countrey, and to serve for a stop to the Forces which may over-run him, and to th^e Invasions of an Enemy, who without Impediment may suddenly become Master of it. For example, The Duke of Sax at *Dresde* and *Vittemberge*; The Marquis of *Brandburge* at *Custrin* and *Spando*; The *Lamgrave* of *Heß* at *Castel* and *Sigenham*. In these places Consists without all doubt the safety of their Countries, and without them they would become the Prey of the first Possessor; As are the Countries of some other Princes of *Germany*, wh^o have no Fortresses upon their Frontiers; And what had become, I pray, of *Montferrat*, but for the *Citadelle* of *Casall*, that Excellent Piece, which had defeated so many and so great Armies of th^e Enemies, whose Situation and the Jealousie given by its strength, have invited to besiege it?

But Care must Here be taken of a specious Fault, and t^o avoid the Defects of some Princes, who through Weakness fall to th^e Extremity of other Princes by a certain Irregularity of Fancy, not to think themselves Powerfull or Considerable Enough. If their Estates be little, and their Revenue small, they ought not to Charge their Countries with many strong Places, nor t^o imitate Intemperate persons, wh^o Eating t^o excess, Cannot Digest what they Eat, and fill themselves with so great a Quantity of ill Humours, that the Natural Heat cannot dissolve them, or discharge the body of that plentiful spring of Incommodities, and of that fruitfull Mine of Maladies. The desire of many Fortresses ariseth from an irregular Appetite, and from an Intemperate spirit, which the Prince being unable to finish,

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and to furnish with necessary Provisions, or to keep the Garrisons well manned and paid; some of them are lost by some of the named Defects; And it happens also that th'Enemy upon the Taking of a Fort finisheth the Fortifications and Garrisons, and by that means makes himself so strong an Establishment in that Countrey, and takes so deep Rooting, that 'tis a difficult Business to get him thence, but by a Treaty of Peace, and by that Lassitude and Inability which the War produceth, and Compels him t'hearken t'an Accommodation.

From this Principle also is derived another Inconveniency that puts the whole State in danger, and Cuts the Sinews and Nerves, which Bind and Joyn the parts together; That th'Excessive Number of Garrisons the Prince is obliged to keep, is the cause that He becomes Weak when he is to draw into the Field; And that th'Enemy being Master without resistance of the flat Countrey, all places at once are blocked up and lost, and at Contest, which shall begin to Render, for want of an Army to relieve them, and t'avoid th'ill usage of an unnecessary Defence, and having no reasonable Means of security, can have no Thoughts but of perishing a little later than others, and of Consuming th'Assailants by delay.

The Dukes of *Savoy* are fallen into this Inconvenience; In having a great Number of Fortresses, and the greatest part of them Accompanied with some of the Defects which have been represented; The Situation truly of their Countrey, and particularly of *Piedmont*, shut up in the midst of the Countreys of very great and formidable Princes, as a King of *France* and a King of *Spain*, hath contributed much to this Disorder; And that some of the places have been often taken; And 'tis impossible but that amongst so many weak Forts in their Countreys, some Fort or other will be taken, and that a very dangerous prejudice must arise from that Improvidence. The Duke of *Roban* hath also observed in his Remembrances, That one of the Ruinous Causes of th'*Hugonot* party, and Principal Means of the dissolution of that great Body, was the great Number of their strong Cities; And that by Endeavouring to save them, they lost them all; And unable to dispute the Field, with the Kings Armies, as it formerly had Done, That they fell under the Virtue and Power of the King. It belongs only to the *Flemings* and to th'*Hollanders* t'have their Countries full of strong Holds, and all those strong Holds Manned with powerfull Garrisons, and at the same Time to raise great Armies.

But as to the *Flemings*; Though their Countries be of the best of the World; and are called th'*Indies* of *Christendom*, by reason of their Wealth; It had been quickly drawn out and Left Drye, but for th'Influence of *Spain*, and th'Abundance of both *Indies* laid out to nourish the War, and to support the Motions which have vexed that people for many years; Nor hath it been alwaies in their power to furnish the Necessaries of that War, and th'Hunger of that insatiable Monster.

Monster. And we've often seen th' Armies of that Countrey perish for want of Moncy, and from that want Considerable Bodies of Mutineers t' arise, as so many Republicques, which subsisted by Order and Discipline without Rejoyning to the body from whence they drew away, till payment was made of what was due to them, and so thereupon delisting from being their Princes Creditors, they returned to the Duty of Subjects.

As to th' *Hollanders*, who knows not also that they've not been alwaies in their present Condition, nor ever had so many strong Holds or so well Manned as now they Have; That they've been long upon the Defensive, and with so Mean an Army, As that they believed to Gain what they did not Lose, and t' overcome effectively, when they were not overcome; It was at that time when they subsisted only by the good pleasure of others, and by the subventions and Reliefs which came to them from *France*, *England*, and *Germany*; when th' had not made Acquaintance with th' *Indies*, or Robbed the *Spanish* Fleets, or sailed into the *Levant* Seas, but under the Banner of *France*; when they were not Masters of Trade and Navigation, as they are at this day; but since the Sea hath Enriched them of all sides, and hath caused great Wealth to come to them from all parts of the World, 'Tis no wonder if their Forts and Armies are supplied with all Necessaries; And being so great Husbands, and taking so true Measure of all things, which is the property of Republicques, They never fall short in their Military Expeditions; And yet, 'tis not to be denied, but that they cannot draw their Armies several years together into the Field without being weary of it, and consuming of their Treasury, and that they will have need of rest and breath, or to receive Contribution from abroad, as they have often received from *France*.

These are General Propositions, which for the most part are true, but not alwaies, no more than the greatest part of other Rules of Policy. 't will concern the prudence of Governours t' Adjust them to the Nature of th' Affairs they've in hand, and to the condition of their present Conjunctions; But not t' adjust th' Affairs and Conjunctions to the Propositions and Rules.

Fifth Discourse.

What Kind of Confederacy and Correspondency may be formed betwixt a Prince and the Subjects of another Prince in Rebellion with their Prince; That the King ought in Consequence t' Aid the Catalans.

HAVING discoursed the Manner of the Relief that ought to be given or taken amongst Sovereigns; It shall not b' Impertinent t' Examine here another Matter which is fastned to it, in searching

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what Kind of Confederation and Correspondency may be formed betwixt a Prince and the Subjects of another Prince in Rebellion with him. Whereupon, I first say, That the Risings of the people against their Prince, and th'Intestine Agitations of States, being ordinarily the strokes of th'Anger of Heaven, or rather th'Effects of his Justice, have also very different successes, according to the different provocations; sometimes they make a Total change, & introduce New forms; if it be resolved in the Council of Providence; And then no Force nor humane Industry can divert th'Event; A small spark doth then kindle so great a Fire, that no Relief can put it out, And *Daniels* little Stone overthrew huge and Prodigious Statues. The defection of the *Suisses* from th'House of *Austria* of *Germany*, and the defection of the *Flemings* from th'House of *Spain*, are such cleer proofs of this Truth, that others are not to be Looked after. Sometimes these Disorders are nothing but bare Threatnings from God to Direct Princes, and the People wh' have offended him, to Repentance; And then, whatsoever Disposition there may be in th'Inclination of Second Causes, and how steep soever the descent or Precipitation, yet the Fall is prevented, as by Miracle, the disorder of Affairs is reconciled against all hopes, as th'Intrigue of a Comedy, and Things return to their first Being, without discovery almost of the Way of their Return. *France* hath made many Experiences of this Truth, without speaking of other Countries. The most Modern of all shall here content me, The descent of th'*English* in th'Island of *Rhé*. There was no Appearance to the contrary, but that their Design ought t'have been Executed, and they t'have been Masters of that Island; And therefore if it had hapned, It had been a difficult Matter to resist the Tempest that then Threatned us, and to secure from Loss some Provinces of this Kingdom.

The Mouths of the Rivers of *Loyre* and *Garonne* which th'*English* Naval Army ought t'have seized upon, and by consequence all Manner of Communication shut up from thence to *Britany*, *Poitou*, and *Guienna*. A considerable Army ready to Joyn with th'*English*, and marching from *Languedock* had been Encreased by a great Number of *Hugonot* Forces, that would have joyned with them, as a River swells in Rowling, by many Rivers that do discharge themselves into it; A great Captain at th'head of them to make use of all Advantages they should gain, and all that Fortune should offer them, and many other Circumstances formed a very dangerous Conjunction against *France*.

'Tis not to be doubted, but that the Virtue and Fortune of the King, The Prudence, The Courage and th'Activity of his Ministers of State, and the Forces of a powerfull Kingdome might have Corrected all that this Conjunction had of Malignant and deplorable in it; But 'tis also to be Confessed, that they could not have been put to a stronger proof, and that Less than that, was not Convenient to break the Designs of the Rebellion, and t'hinder th'Establishment of it in
the

the State, which might have lasted as long as the Monarchy. But the Book II. Love of God to *France* was so great, as not to permit it to come to such a proof; And the Glory of the King was to be raised upon a fairer Occasion than the Necessity of the Defence. For th' Invaders of the Island of *Rhé* were struck with the Spirit of Confusion from the beginning of th' Enterprize; A fatal Blindness, which did not abandon them from the time it had seized them, till they were lost, and had made Abortive one of the boldest and best laid Projects, which of a long time hath been contrived; And it hapned unto it, as to those formidable Engines, sometimes seen in War, which a little thing renders useles and unprofitable, at th' Instant that they begin to break.

In the second place, I say, That it must be laid for Foundation and Maxim; That Subjects may of themselves rise against their Sovereign, and break the Bonds of Obedience which they owe him, by the sole strength of their Passions. But that this Rising can maintain it self in heat, if it be not heated from abroad; Or this new Liberty long Lived, if some Forein Power did not nourish it, Is that which hath been seldom seen, and there be but a few Examples of it, But there are a great number which testifie, that th' One cannot be without th' other; And that a Revolt is ill seated, that hath for Foundation but the Forces of a Rebellious People. I will also make use, to confirm this Truth, of th' Example of the *Suisses*, and of that of the *Flemings*, because I have already made mention of them. There's no Question, but that after th' Inhabitants of that salvage and rude Country, to which the Village of *Suits* hath given the name, had taken Arms against the Princes of *Austria*, and to deliver themselves from that Long Violence, and Insupportable Tyranny, which they exercised over them by their Governours, and that they were delivered from the Domination of their bad Masters; But that the Republique remained a long time Trembling, and ill Assured; That it did not begin to settle and draw a free Air, but under the protection of *Charles* the Seventh, and received not its entire Consistency, and its perfect Establishment, but from the Alliance it made with *Lewis* the Eleventh. When the *Flemings* had resolved to shake off the yoke of *Spain*, and to adore no longer an ill manag'd Power, though it was Lawful; They had not held out long, if Neighbour Powers had not interessed themselves in their Contentments, and if several Reliefs had not been drawn unto them from *Germany*, *France*, and *England*. I add to what hath been above-said, That, when in the time of our Fathers, Heresie and Ambition united against Sovereign Power, and that from these Two Springs of Rebellion, a Party did arise, which left to our Kings but a part of their Authority, and to this Kingdom but a part of their Forces; Though this Party was animated by them of the Blood of our Kings, and guided by one of th' ablest Commanders of his time; Though it had all th' Allurements that Novelty gives to Error, and all the

Prince of Condé and Chastillon Admiral of
Zeal France.

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Zeal which accompanies the Confederates of growing Sects. Though th' Union amongst the Member could not be greater, nor th' Accord of their Wills more Universal; 'Tis nevertheless certain, That with such Advantages, and such favourable Encounters, they had not maintained themselves, as they did, nor had made so deep foundations in the State, nor stretched so far its Branches, if Forcin Forces had not supported them, and if it had not been often relieved by *Englisb* Gold, and *German* Forces. For the Decay and Ruine of that Parry was dated effectivly from the driness of the Springs, which had furnished it with powerful Contributions, and that the Veins which had brought it Blood and Life, were obstructed, and no longer open; When *Germany* fell into an Inability, and *England* became Fearful or Weak, and *Spain* Slow or Irresolute to relieve it. Thence it ariseth, That the People who study Changes, and dispose themselves for bold and violent Resolutions, never undertake them but upon some Forein Inspiration, accompanied with promises of great Reliefs, or in such a Conjuncture of Time and Affairs, as makes out unto them some Haven which may put them in safety, and secure them in time of Tempest. But to speak of present things, and of the Rising of the *Catalans*, There's no question, but that th' had never undertaken it, what pretence soever they had, which is not here to be examined, but by favour of their present Conjuncture; And though it was contrived long before, and the whole matter prepared, whereof it was then formed, yet it had not issued from the Womb of its Causes, nor taken Light, if th' Arms of *France* had not been Triumphant in all places; If those of *Spain* had not been unfortunate in *Flanders*, and in *Italy*, and if the Reputation of th' Imperialists had not been abated in *Germany*. In the third place, I say, That in the Matter of the People's Emotions, nothing of certainty can be promised, nor of Knowledge of the Duration, till they have treated with the Prince from whom they Implor'd Aid, and have given him Pledges of their Faith to content; And that there's no greater or surer Pledge, than in giving up themselves; Till then, he may have cause to doubt, that the shew he shall make to protect them, will serve onely to raise Jealousie in the Prince, whose Subjects they are, and provoke him the more to Turn all manner of Wheels, and Employ all possible Inventions, to reduce them to their Duty, and to dissolve th' Union that is not well assured; Till then, I say, he will have just cause to distrust an Accommodation with their Prince; And lest, shaken betwixt th' Apprehensions of the Troubles and Mileries that attend the Victory, if it should remain to their Prince, and th' offers not onely of Impunity, but also of Recompence, wherewith h' endeavours to blind them, They take th' occasion to return to his favour; It being the nature of the People to change readily their passion; As to return willingly to a more peaceable condition, and to a gentler state than theirs may appear to them in their Revolt. That being so, there would not be less fear of Evil

Evil in their Accommodation, than hopes of Good in their Disorder; Their Repentance might prove as fatal to him, as their Sin favourable, and they would b' obliged to purge at his Charges the fault they had committed, for the not finishing of it, and to turn against him the Forces they had prepared against their Prince. Book II.

That if they resolve, not t'undertake by Halfs, what otherwise they ought not t'have Begun; If they resist th' Offers and the Threatnings of their first Prince, and take them, as it may be they are, for the Snares he lays, and for th' Ambushes he sets for them; If they perswade themselves, That he will not believe himself bound to keep that to them, which he had promised with an Ill-will, and they had Forced from him; nor t'observe the Faith h' had given them, since that, he may say, he would not break it, but for their good, and t'hinder them another time to become Rebels: But if they persevere in the desire of shaking off the Yoke, wherewith they may believe themselves in time oppressed, and t'implore th' Aid and Protection of another Prince, There are some Considerations to be had before He consents to their Relief.

At first sight, It seems to be a thing of an ill savour, and of a dangerous Example amongst Princes, That a Prince should oblige himself by Treaty to defend and protect another Princes Subjects in Rebellion; That 'tis to wound a Right wherein all Sovereigns are interested in the Consequence, and give Heart to Rebellion to b' in all places more busie and bold than it would be, if it did believe it self destitute of Forein Aid, and of Auxiliary Forces. 'Tis not truly to be denied, but that generally taken, 'tis so; And it happens not often, that Princes declare themselves publickly in favour of the Subjects of other Princes, nor that they relieve them openly and with flying Colours; When they do it, 'tis ordinarily done without noise, and as it were in private; 'Tis like hiding th' Arm after the Stone is thrown; 'Tis either in furnishing of Money secretly, as *Philip* the Second did to the Chiefs of the League during the life of *Henry* the Third; or in Licensing of Troops, and permitting them to pass to the Rebel Party, as the *Venetians* did in the War of the Barons of *Naples* against th' old *Ferdinand* and the Duke of *Calabria* his son, as it hath been observed in another place.

In this, a Distinction is to b' used, which will clear this Doubt, and reconcile what may seem to b' opposite and contrary; 'Tis, that neither the Law of Conscience, nor that of Civil Prudence doth permit, That in time of Peace and Calmness, and at least, when there's no cause of Revenge, or to divert a Storm that threatens, that Troubles should be stirred up in the Neighbouring States, nor that Subjects b' invited to take up Arms against their Prince; But when War is kindled betwixt two Princes, and that they burn with a Reciprocal heat to do their worst, and to destroy one another, The Difficulty is abated, and there's more reason to ask, Whether one of the Princes may with a good Conscience cherish the Rebellion of another Princes

Book II. Princes Subjects ? Or to repeat the same things in various Forms, or to rehabit the same Idæa and the same sense with different Expressions, Whether a Prince with a good Conscience may Joyn his Forces with Rebel-Forces, and Act joynly, and by way of Conservation with them against an Enemy whom he may with a good Conscience fight without their aid ? Or if it be permitted him to diminish the number of his Enemies, in giving Heat to persons, who will be of Necessity Against him, if they are not For him, and will become His Enemies if He holds them not in good humour and Power to remain His Friends ? or else, if that be less allowed him, than to receive Officers and Soldiers from the contrary Party which come to Joyn with his Army ; Than to make use against his Enemies of Horfes, of Canon, and of other Instruments of War, He shall gain from them ? And in general, Whether H^e have the same right t^o use th^e Enemies Arms which Fortune presents unto him, and causeth to fall int^o his hands without Labour, As those which he gains with his Arms, which by force He makes His, and are of Lawful Conquest, and fruits of a Just War.

But 'tis certain, That these things move upon the same foot, and with equal force ; And that if th^e one are permitted, whereof there's no Question, There's no difficulty nor scruple for th^e others. At the worst, there's no doubt, but that his proceeding is gentler and less odious, than to corrupt the fidelity of the Governour of a place, which is every day practised by the most Religious Princes, who make no conscience t^o endeavour the taking of that by Good-will, which they believe is permitted unto them to take by force ; And to buy with a little Mony that, which would cost the Blood and Lives of a great Number of their Subjects. In this, a very notable difference may be seen, for in the first Case, whereof there hath been discourse, Princes are solicited, Protection demanded, their Aid implored against Violence and Tyranny ; They give onely Aliment to what hath already Life, and make profit of th^e Evil, if there be any, which others have committed, and make use of the Benefit which Fortune offers them. But in the second Case, they seek, they draw, they debase, they do in some sort give birth t^o Infidelity and Treason ; And nevertheless they believe, that 'tis permitted them in good Conscience, and they practise it without scruple, and with glory. 'Tis true, that the Justice which Sovereigns exercise against Sovereigns hath a long extent, and its bounds are enlarged beyond the distributions made to Particular Persons ; That the Right of War, which is a Right of Force and Subtilty, is maintained by strange Means, and with Addresses forbidden to the Right of Private Persons, and that the safety of the People is in the Souls of Princes, a Law predominant t^o all other Laws, and th^e obligation they have to procure it, is superior to th^e other Obligations of their Charge. From hence it may appear, That the King in receiving the *Catalans*, who did cast themselves int^o his Arms, hath not committed so great a Crime,

Crime, as ignorant, and Passionate persons for *Spain* have published Book II. it; That therein he hath done nothing, that was of ill Example, but what he might Lawfully have done, which the Law of Conscience hath appointed, and that of Prudence advised. And since that in the midst of Peace, which the *Spaniards* had with us, They made no difficulty openly to favour, and in the sight of all the world, the Rebels of *France*; And that before any breach, they treated with the Duke of *Rohan*, whilst he was Head of a Party; And made use of the discontentment of one of our Princes, and sent with him into this Kingdom some Troops of casual *Polaques*; who live onely of Prey, and whose Valour consists not in the Taking of Places, that Resist, but in Burning them, which cannot Defend themselves; nor in gaining of Battels, but in Killing after the Victory. Since that the Right of Revenge belongs to Princes, and that 'tis Lawful for them to render, what hath been lent them; I do not think, that in the Terms we were with the *Spaniards*, and in th' Heat of the War had with them, the King ought to make difficulty of granting to the *Catalans* the Protection they desired of him, or to receive them, who gave themselves up voluntarily, since it was lawful for him to take them by force; and to have made himself Master of them by His Armies.

Sixth Discourse.

Wherein the Protection ought to Terminate which Princes give to the Rebel-Subjects of another Prince; That it be effected faithfully by the Prince, and securely by the Rebels; This is Confirmed by the Proceeding the King hath observed in the business of Catalognia.

IN the precedent Discourse, we have cleared the Doubt that concerns Conscience upon the matter of Relief, which Princes give to the Rebel-Subjects of other Princes. We must now treat of an Inevitable Inconveniency in this Matter, and of a more difficult Resolution, To wit, wherein this Protection shall Terminate, and what the Prince who gives it shall do in their favour, in case Peace be made; How at last it must be made, that Rest may succeed Trouble, and a Calm to a Tempest: For Rebel-Subjects must return to their Natural Princes grace by means of a Treaty, and be reconciled unto him by the Mediation of th' other Prince their Protector, or must be freed from his Domination, and make a State apart, and a separated Body, As the *Suisses* have done, and as th' *Hollanders* do; or that they hold of him, who hath delivered them from servitude, and as the second Master, whom they make choice of to get out of th' others Yoke; or that they be abandoned and left, as a Prey, to the Displeasure and Anger of their Prince.

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As to the First Point, (the same Judgment may be made , and in stronger Terms of the Second and Third) It must be a very difficult thing for a Sovereign to digest, That another should take that Advantage over him , as to be the Mediator and Arbitrator betwixt him and his Subjects , and Fortune must put him int'a low Station , and offer him a strange Violence , to make him accept of such hard Conditions , and such dishonorable Terms. In the Treaty of *Madrid* , and that of *Cambray* , which was , to speak properly , but the Corrective and Moderation of th other , some particular *French* Persons indeed , who followed the *Spanish* Party , were restored to their Honours and Goods by those Treaties. But who knows not in what Constitution *France* was at that time ? Who knows not that th Heavens had none but malignant Aspects and froward Influences for it ? And that Fortune pouring out her Favours upon *Spain* , had forgot she was Changeable. It hath been seen , what a hard Labour it was some years past t'obtain Pardon for the Marquis of *St. George* , and for some other *Montferrans* , who served the Duke of *Savoy* in the Wars He had since the death of the late King , with the Dukes of *Mantoua* . The difficulty the *Genouese* Expressed , and the Resistance they made against pardoning the Prisoners , hath been seen , whom th' Accused t' have Conspired against their Country with the Duke of *Savoy* , to give him Entry into *Genes* ; And that at last in th' Accommodation the Republique made with the Duke , a Means was Invented , and a Temper found t'hinder these Criminals of the State to perish ; And that it might not appear , that the Republique had given them grace. And in the Treaty of *Vervins* , the Deputies of the late King opposed vigorously the Comprehension of any *French-man* , that had taken part with the *Spaniard* , and to deny any favour to th' Intercession of Strangers , of what belonged to the Clemency of a Prince.

Moreover , it was not without a great grief of heart , and a great Repugnancy , that the *Spaniards* permitted th' Embassadors of *France* , *England* , and *Venice* , not onely to sign , as Moderators , but also as Sureties on their Masters behalf , the Treaty of *Vercel* , which determined the War raised from the not Execution of that of *Ast* ; And nevertheless , the Question was not herein , of a difference betwixt Subject and Sovereign , and of those Quarrels of State , which are not Appeased , but by the Submission or Punishment of th' One , and by th' Indulgency or Justice of th' Other. The Question was onely of a Punctilio of Honour , and of a Preheminence of Authority , which the *Spaniards* affected , to Treat in all *Italy* as Masters ; To impose Laws on Princes ; To give Form , as it shall seem good to them , t' Affairs , and to put out the Fires , which they permitted to kindle by the sole signification of their pleasure , and by the single demonstration of their Arms. It angered much those ambitious Persons , That a Duke of *Savoy* had the boldness t' oppose that publick Necessity , and to resist the common Destiny of the petty Princes of *Italy*.

Italy. They could not endure his Thoughts of a Free Prince; nor Book II.
that he should use the Privileges of Sovereignty, and Act th' Independent near them. It was the cause of the Troubles they raised upon him, and renewed two or three Times. This obliged *France* not to permit him t' yield under so just a Cause; This made *France* with *England*, and the Republick of *Venice*, t' undertake the Warrantry of what was Accorded to the Duke by the *Spaniards*; and this was the cause of bitterness and grief to them, to be constrained, for th' Avoiding of worse, and to draw upon them, with the War, Strangers int' *Italy*; following the Maxim they then held, and which they ought never t' abandon; To be compelled, I say, after th' Offer of all imaginable Advantages to the Duke, and search of all possible Expedients, to divert the Mediation of the forementioned Ambassadors, to consent, That they should become Pledges of th' Observation of the Treaty. That if we've seen happen somewhat like it between the King and his Rebel-Subjects; And if *England* mingled with their Affairs, and Interposed in the Treaty which was given them before *Montpellier*; 'Tis to be considered, that 'twas permitted by that hard and Inexorable Law, which makes the Lesser Evil to b' Accepted t' avoid the Greater; and that in respect of the Weariness which oppressed *France*, It was adjudged to be more Expedient to procure its Rest with a Little shame, than to Leave it in the Trouble of War, with an Extreme peril; Or truly it must b' avowed, That there was not Vigour and Courage enough in the Council, or Care enough of the King's Honor, and of the Dignity of the Crown, and that the veins of them, who Governed in that Time, were not filled with those Generous Spirits, and that Magnanimous Blood whereof so great Effects are seen in the present Administration. And to speak the Truth, these forced Peaces, and these violent Reconciliations are not of Long Duration; They must quickly break, from what side soever the fault comes; And the Subjects proud and fierce upon this Forein Protection, cannot contain themselves within their Bounds, which are marked out unto them, or the Prince cannot permit his Subjects t' have relation t' any other Sovereignty than his, whereby shadow only of Authority remains t' him, and from which he receives onely an Appearance of Affection, whilst they give th' Heart and Reality t' another Prince.

What followed the Peace of *Montpellier* hath given us occasion to verifie this Truth, and shew, that it being made of necessity, or for fear, and Forced rather than freely Accorded; That th' Intervention and Warrant of th' *Englisb* was of use to give the greater Jealousie to the King against them, wh' had made Addresses t' *England*, to give him a greater curiosity in th' observance of their Deportments, and a greater Inclination t' interpret them with a spirit of distrust; That they served onely to make them the more Tender and Sensible

Book II. of the least scratch, they Imagin'd to be given to the Peace; to make them the more bold in demanding of Reparation, and to demand it with Threatnings; T' Encourage them to proceed rather as Equals than Subjects in all these Troubles; From what cause it proceeded this is not the time t' enquire after, and that I've design'd it for another place. At last, all things conspired t' an open breach, as hath been observed, and from all those Collective Causes, was formed the most dangerous War that threatned the State, since the birth of Heresie. Nevertheless, God Converted into Good those sad Apparences, and hindred th' Evil t' Accomplish its period; He stop't it in the strength of its Motion, and in the midst of its Course; And rais'd to the King Ministers of State, who would not strip him of his Virtue by their Coldnets, but give him an Edge by their Courage; not to go awry at the sight of the Disorders, and to cut off some Branches; but t' Assault it in a strait Line, and to cut it up by the Roots; Not t' Allay for some time the Rebellion with Promises, which they knew would not be kept, and may be believed ought not to be kept; but to put it in a Condition to Capitulat no more with his Master, and to take from it for the future, the Will to rise, in taking from it the Power of Rising. And that fell out happily, for th' *English* were beaten, and th' *Hugonots* humbled in that War; *Rochel* fell to the ground, and *Spain* became Blind or Lazie in not furnishing the Relief it had promised to the Dying party.

Somewhat like to this last Circumstance hath been seen in the Peace which the late Emperor made a little before at *Lubec* with the King of *Denmark*. The Princes whole Protection h' had undertaken were admitted only under the General Clause, which was a Mark of Dereliction, *That th' Emperor should not disturb any Person against Justice and Equity: That during such time the King of Denmark should not Engage in th' Affairs of th' Empire, And that he should no more Interpose in th' Affairs of Germany, than th' Emperor in th' Affairs of his Kingdom.* It must nevertheless be confessed, to speak Truth of that Occurrence, That th' Advantages th' Emperor drew from that Treaty, were not the Just price of the Successes H' had obtain'd in that War; And that the Collection of the Fruits Answered not the Promises which did precede it. In the King of *Denmarks* Condition, His Declining the Protection of his Allies was no more, than to Part with that which was not in his power to Maintain, and to Quit that he could no longer hold, and to Renounce that which produced no real Thing to th' Emperor, and was but an unprofitable mark of Superiority, which Victory had made very visible. He did receive solid Benefits, redeemed all his Losses, and allayed the Tempest that was ready to break upon the Rest of his States. But th' Ambition of the *Spaniards*, and the pressure th' used to th' Emperor to send his Armies into *Italy*, against a Catholick Prince, wh' had done him no hurt, compelled him to make Peace, as hath else where been observed, with

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with a Protestant Prince that had offended him; To cool his good Fortune in its greatest heat, and to restrain the Current of the Victory, which might have passed the Bounds of the *Baltique* Sea; And to have stopped that fatal Power which hath since Over-run th' Empire, and shaken the very Foundations of th' House of *Austria*. However, 'tis a proof of great Superiority in Power, or of a great height in Success, to Exclude out of Treaties of Peace, or to Comprehend in them, whom they will. And Interests of State must be very Violent, which oblige Princes to forget their Friends in their Accommodations, whose Faithfulness they've made Trial of in the Quarrel. In such a Dereliction, they cannot save their Honour, but by th' Extreme Necessity of their Affairs, nor be dispensed from th' observation of their Faith, but by that Supreme Law, which ought to regulate their Conduct in the safety of their Subjects. Whereupon they that would Excuse them, may say; That 'tis a Condition which Enters privately int' all their Alliances, and a Reserve which needs not be Comprised, because it cannot be Excluded, and which Equally concerns th' Interest of all the Confederates; And there's none but makes use of it in case of Necessity, or that believes himself obliged to perish, if he cannot be secure in Company; There's none that believes himself forsworn, when he holds not that, which he believes never to have promised. And though in the Treaties of Confederations all do promise, not to make Agreement without the Knowledge and Consent of one another; All understand it, nevertheless, with that Exception, But in the case of an Extreme ill Fortune, which allows n' other Security; or from an utter Ruine, that admits of no Safety, but by such a Breach; That if this were not so, it were to act against th' End of Confederates, wherein many do Engage and Unite themselves, to resist together an Evil, which would be Superiour to the Forces of each particular person; but none of them would shut up himself, if it were not Lawful for him to go out, when he shall not find safety there, and should be Lost in a Longer stay; That they're like Ships, where they that guide them, oblige themselves to work all they Can to defend them against a Storm, but where every person reserves to himself the Liberty to provide for his safety in forsaking of them, when they're ready to strike ground, and that the Wrack is Inevitable. That Countries are in th' hands of Princes, as the goods of Minors; They're the Guardians, but not in all Senses the Masters of them; And in the whole humane Society there's no Deposite so Sacred and so Inviolable as that is to them. The people from whom they hold it, have committed it unto them indeed, but have not absolutely given it unto them; and without a Condition. They've indeed given them the Tuition, but have not given them the Power of Alienation; or to put them in Danger of Perishing; and of changing Master.

To what hath been already said, may also be added; That 'tis better that

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that one of the Confederates giving way to Time, and striking Sail before Fortune, make his Peace alone, the better t' Endeavour th' Improvement of th' others Conditions, and to serve them for Relief, than that they should Lose themselves by the pretence of a false Courage, and by a Delicacy of humour, which may indeed be permitted in the Conduct of Particular persons, but ought never to b' admitted into that of Princes, nor find place in their Affairs. That, besides this, theres no doubt, but that 'tis a most base dishonour for them to fail in th' observation of promises; And that no Greatness can be gained, or Establishment made, that can repair the breaches of violated Faith, and purge the shame of Perjury.

These are Considerations, which have entred into my Understanding, to discharge as much as may be, the proceedings which Princes sometimes are Constrained t' use in the matter of Treaties. I do not pretend, nevertheless, to warrant my thoughts from Infallibility, or to make them pass for Decisions and Dogmatiques. I leave t' every person the Liberty of Judgment, according t' his Sense to Condemn or Approve them, as it shall seem good t' him, and to take them for sound Reasons, and for Addresses of good Direction; or onely for Colours, which paint, or for Ways that occasion Wandrings. However, great care must be taken not t' Exercise and Practise so ticklish a Conduct every day; And no other use is to be made of them, than as of Poisons in Medicines, That's to say, sparingly, and against Extreme Evils, and with Excellent Correctives, and Exquisite Preparations. I add also, that in th' Example, which I have alleged of *Denmark*, I do not understand Fundamentally to condemn the Conduct of that Prince, nor to Constitute my self Judge Sovereign of a thing whereof I do not know all th' occult Reasons by which that Nation might have cause to get out, which ought to be presumed to be Just, nor all th' hidden Wheels that gave it Motion, which might have rendred it necessary; I've onely drawn th' Exterior, and what hath appeared without, and hath not a plausible shew, which I've endeavoured to Temper & Sweeten by my Lenitive Considerations. Not touching then upon what may b' of Truth in the Foundation of such proceedings, what appeared without, seems to b' an Argument of Infidelity or Weakness, and both of those Qualities are Precipices, wherein a Prince will never fall if he be Virtuous, and will seldom fall into th' other, if he b' of good foresight, and knows well how to take his Measures. From whence I conclude, That the last may not happen, And that the Prince who protects, be not compelled to give the World so shameful an Evidence of his Weakness, That either h' ought at first Instance to Reject the proposals of the people, who Implore his Protection, and shut the Door t' all Importunities; or if he receive them, t' Ag Vigorously with so Considerable Forces, that apparently Nothing ought to deprive him of the Victory, nor hinder by consequence the Peace to be made upon his own Terms, and Secure

cure the People, whose defence h'had undertaken, and with whose safety h'had charged himself. A worthier Example to follow cannot be presented, nor a more excellent Model for Imitation in like Occurrences, than the Conduct the King observed in the Business of *Catalognia*. So soon as it appeared, and that so great an Occasion t'advance our affairs shewed it self, He wisely judged, That there was no reason to permit it t'escape; That there was no Cause for Resisting the good Fortune, which came to seek us without a Call, nor to refuse a Favour, which th'Heavens offered us so freely. And as 'tis seen sometimes in difficult Maladies, that Nature makes some Demonstration, which declares to the Physicians the way th' ought to take to cure the sick Persons, and discovers to them the place by which the disease is to b'assaulted; The King also very well understood, That by this unlook'd for Accident, and by this unhop'd for Chance, of the rising of the *Catelans*, God marked out unt'us one of the ways w'ought to take, t'arrive at th'Haven we went to Sea for, and t'attain that End for which w'undertook the War; A sure and honest Peace, a firm and lasting Rest to Christian Princes.

He understood, That if h'had reason t'undertake the War in that Country, when all *Spain* opposed it, and that all the People joyned with the Prince to ruine our Designs, and to make our Arms fruitless; The same Causes and Reasons being on foot, The best Peopled, and the most Warlike Province of that Nation being sever'd from th'other Provinces, and Joyned with our Forces; There was no probability, but that we might promise to our selves a good success of that business; H' ought indeed so to believe it, and believe also, That if that affair was happily Embarqu'd, and that the favour of Heaven did not abandon the progress of it, That the prosperity would not be confined to the Frontiers of *Catalognia*. That its good Influence might extend its self further; And as a Needle rubbed with the Loadstone hath the virtue to draw others, That the subsistence of the *Catalans* might be th'Attractive to draw th'other discontented Provinces after it. He knew that the *Portuguese* were full of good will to rise, since the time of their submission to the Crown of *Spain*; That they could not bear any Yoke with more Impatience; That they always breathed after their antient form of Government, and that th'hatred they had for the *Castilians* was so natural and strong, that no length of Time, nor moderation of Conduct, could efface th'Impression, and allay the Violence. He judg'd, that th'*Arragons*, wh' have not yet lost the Remembrance of *Philip* the Second's usage, wh' are outrageous with spite for the breach of their Privileges, and loss of their Liberty; Who know that of Right it belongs t' Us, would observe what the first Successes of their Neighbours Arms would be; What form of their Establishment, and what the signes and presages of their future duration, to Joyn themselves, it may be with us, if they might do 't with safety, and if they saw in that Union Resistance and Force enough against th' Enterprises of their
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common Enemy. H' also judged, That if that War could be drawn out into length, and that the first Effort of the Troops the *Spanish* King should draw together to reduce or confound the *Catalans*, before they were in a condition to Resist him, failed of its effect; It was of Necessity for him to recall from the *Low-countries*, or from *Italy*, some part of his Forces t'oppose them which were drawn out against him in the midst of his Country, and as in the Centre of his Monarchy. And by Consequent, that his other States remaining naked and weak, they would b'exposed to very dangerous strokes, and to very great wounds; And that many other good Effects and happy Encounters might derive themselves from that Cause and Spring. And therefore the Kings proceeding upon th'Occurrence of *Catalognia*, could not be more Judicious, nor the motion of his Arms better adjusted to the Laws of Civil Prudence.

Seventh Discourse.

That 'tis a great Secret in War, to know how to make best Choice of the Place against which the strongest Assaults are to be made. That the Spaniards are seldom deceived in that Choice: With some other Observations upon their Conduct. That the King's Conduct is Admirable, in ordering the War he makes in so many places in Christendome.

WHAT I have said of the King's Proceedings upon the Insurrections of *Catalognia*, carries me t'another Consideration, which is not of small weight for the managing of a War made in several places, and divides it self into many Branches at distance with one another; 'Tis, that in this Action, the supreme degree of Military Wisdom, and as it were the precious Elixar to render any War happy, Is, t'Endeavour industriously to know the place, which ought to be the principal Siege, and to turn on that side the chief of their Forces; As to b'always ready to change Conduct, as cause shall be given, and the War to take another Conduct, and another Form in order to that End. Th' House of *Austria* hath always understood and practised this secret t'Admiration; And if the late Emperor forsook it, when he made War to the Duke of *Mantoua*, and neglected that of *Germany*, t'apply himself powerfully to the War of *Italy*; 'Tis that he was forced thereunto, as hath been often observed, by th'Ambition of the *Spaniards*, who preferring their Interest t'his, obliged him to draw his Forces where they might b' of most use for them; and to labour their Greatness in *Italy*, which then concerned them more than the Greatness of th'Emperor in *Germany*.

The cause why the *Spaniards* possess this secret in perfection, and are seldom deceived in the Knowledge and Choice of what is most important

important in their Affairs; Is th' order of their Government, and that variety of particular Councils, whereof it is compos'd, as their various Countries or their Domination is distributed, and where their Arms are exercis'd. For Example, as to what respects *Italy*, There's an establish'd Council in *Italy*, which is form'd of the Correspondencies and Relations observ'd amongst the Ministers of State whom they there entertain; And especially betwixt the Governor of *Milan*, and the Vice-King of *Naples*, and their Ambassador at *Venice*. In th' occasions then which happen in that Country, the first Declarations are made by these four Heads, which constitute, as it were, the first Tribunal, where the Difficulties are agitated, and Resolutions taken of what is most expedient to do in the present occasion. The Result of th' Advices of that first Council, with a faithful Relation of the Facts whereon they were form'd, and the Reasons whereon they were ground'd, is sent into *Spain* to another Council fram'd of Intelligent Persons in th' affairs of *Italy*, and who, having past the great Employments of that Country, have also the greater Lights and exacter Motions. There the second Examination of the Business is made, and th' advices and Reasons of the first Councils are put again to the Trial and Re-examination.

And, as in th' Oeconomy of th' Human Body, the Spirits which are form'd in the Liver, pass to th' Heart to be purifi'd, and there to discharge themselves of the grosser part, and from thence arise to the Brain, where they receive th' ultimate degree of subtilty and light, whereof they are capable, and such a temper as renders them the nearest Organs of the Motion of the Body, and of th' Operation of the Senses; In like manner, the Resolutions of this second Council are carried to a Third, which is the Council of State of the Prince, to receive there a Third Examination, and to see, if they may find a place in th' order of his affairs; And if that which is conformable to the good of th' affairs of *Italy*, whereunto the two first Councils have onely their Aspect, be not contrary to the general good of their Monarchy. They Act not onely in this Order, and with so great a Refinement of Prudence in their own Affairs, and which immediately concern them, but they bring also the same Cares, and the same contest of Spirit, to Examine th' Affairs of th' House of *Austria* in *Germany*; and to direct the Form and Motion that ought to guide them; Nevertheless, with this difference, That although they address, as to their Centre, the Particulars which they have collect'd, as to the general Good of their House; They so order it, That the general Good remains always inferiour and subaltern to the particular Interests of their House, and to the great Design they've had to greaten it without Measure, and to raise it to th' Universal Christian Monarchy. I've already brought some Examples for the proof of this Truth, and I could bring others above number to confirm it, if there were need, and if it were not so evident and known, that it would seem to give light to the Sun, and to

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make his Light visible ; So that you must not b^e Amazed , if the Council of *Vienna* is but th^e Instrument of the Resolutions , whereof the Council of *Madril* is th^e Author ; And if you see nothing come from that , which bears not the mark of th^e other , and receiv^d th^e Impressions of their Maxims and Conduct.

And since the knowledge of facts , and of the true state of things , is the Basis of Reasonings , and that these have no subsistence , if th^e others b^e ill grounded ; And resemble the Colours of the Bowe in Heaven , that are false , though they are full of brightness and comeliness , for want of a Body , wherein they might b^e infused and fastned ; They provide against this Inconveniency two ways ; Th^e one is , by an unlimited Power they give to their Agents to distribute Monneys , and not to consider any sort of Expence to be well informed of what passeth ; As to penetrate what is deliberated and resolved at the Results of their Enemies and Friends ; And that Expence is fully allowed them without Examination or Restriction , and upon the single Account which they present. Their Reason is , that although this be Matter for Deceit and for Avarice to make unjust Harvests ; They^d rather run th^e hazard , as Inconsiderable , for the good which may arise to them , as very great ; And they believe , That an Expence well employ^d in that behalf , and a good advice given to purpose , make them Recompence with Interest for a hundred lost Expences , and for a hundred unprofitable Advices. Th^e other way is , That no People of the world were ever more careful t^o entertain their Correspondencies , or a greater Number of them ; They do not affect onely specious ones , and with illustrious Persons , but they also form Correspondencies with all them that will b^e obliged with them ; And Experience hath taught them , that a Person of a Low Condition , and of little sense , may discover to them sometimes an important Truth , which might have past by the Cares and Subtiley of great Personages. So that 'tis a wonderful thing , and I've been sometimes astonish^d at it , to see the great Number of Persons , who make Copies in the Chanceries of their Ministers of State , and the great quantity of Letters , which their Ambassadors by every ordinary Messenger write by way of Original ; And 'tis incredible to believe their diligence t^o inform the Prince , and his other Ministers of State , of War or Peace , of what is necessary for them to know ; As well the Bad as the good News is speedily sent away unto them , and above all th^e ill news , as that , which is of Importance to be timely known , and without disguise , to remedy in time , and with necessary Provisions , th^e Evil which they declare or presage ; And that the Posts that bring them are as largely paid , and as civilly used , as they who bring the good tidings. After then that they've understood the present state of their Affairs , and observed the place where it imports them most t^o Act , They turn on that side , as hath been said , the chief of their Forces , t^o Act the more safely , and to break and overcome by an excess of Power all that may oppose it ,
and

and give Resistance; They resolve to permit small Losses, and light Book II. Disadvantages in one place, to obtain great Successes in another; and they well know, that the Branches cannot remain safe, when the Body of the Tree is cut down, and that after the wounding of the Notler parts, th'others Die of themselves. 'Tis by this Principle, that we've sometimes seen our Frontiers covered with fearfull Clouds of their Men of War, which have been nevertheless dispersed, and that the Lower *Germany* hath seen formed against it great and formidable Bodies of Imperial Armies, which have also been defeated.

Since w' are in the way to speak of the Conduct, which the Princes of th' House of *Austria* have accustomed particularly to observe in the War, it may not be amiss to remark also here, That when they resolve upon any great Design, and that they prepare for some High Enterprize, Th' act it with the most Privacy, and with the least possible Noise; Th' use their greatest care, that it take no Air, as if they wrought in a Mine; They make shew of Rest and Sleep, when they Labour most, and are most Awake; They're not angry when they're accused of Impuissancy, and they scatter of themselves Colourable Reasons, and furnish Specious Colours to make that Accusation probable. 'Tis not hard to divine th'End of that Artifice, which is to lay asleep and to surprize: And History and Experience do sufficiently instruct us, what incredible Advantages they do sometimes draw thereby to themselves, and what great and prodigious strokes they make by the force of that Artifice, and by the favour of that Silence. Th'ill success of the Battel of *St. Quintin* had its beginning in those secret and hidden Preparations, which *Philip* the Second made of the great Forces wherewith he did enter *Picardy*; And in that fatal Credulity that possessed us of his Weakness, and of the small Means h'had to Arm powerfully, till we learned it at our Charges, and were beaten with the Thunder, before w' had any sight of the Lightning: W' have not lost the memory of a thing so fresh and sensible as the surprize, which had almost oppressed *Banier* in th'High *Palatinate*, and the Storm that broke off unexpectedly upon him, that it failed but little, but that the whole Power of the *Suedes* in *Germany* had with that stroke been overthrown with the *German Liberty*.

I add also, that when th'Heavens second their Providence, and becomes propitious to their Designs, there's not a People in the world, to speak ordinarily, wh' understand better to make good use of her favours, and to serve themselves of their Advantages; Whereas others do become remiss by their good Success, and Prosperity seems to abate and dissolve their Vigour, and do stop to take breath in the best of their way, and letting pass good fortune before them, without the Courage of pursuing it, They lose the sight of it. But the *Spaniards* never Labour more than after a good Success, and are never hotter to Fight, than after the gaining of a Battel,

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nor more desirous to return to the Carrier than after the Victory: They know how to pursue a Victory to the last, and they lose not a happy Sequel that it may produce, nor a Fruit that may rationally be gathered from it; That of *Nerlinghen*, to go no higher, is an evident proof; and if *France* had not interposed to stop the Current, and restrain the Rapidity, Th' had had nothing more to do in *Germany* than t'have taken possession of what would have rendred, or to march and present themselves t'overcome in all places.

So that if the wonderful power of th' House of *Austria* be considered, which maintains it self, and stands up after it hath received so many shakings; after the loss of so many Battels; after th' Insurrection of Provinces and Kingdoms; And on th' other side, if their constant and politique Order, and the Virtues practised in the Cabinet Council, and exercised in the Field, be well observed, It must be confessed, that t'hinder the compleating of their Designs, it was necessary, that th' Heavens did undertake particularly to cross them, and to raise Forces t'oppose them, equal or superiour to theirs; A Policy at the least as Wise, and incomparably more Just, and Virtues as strong and active, but more true and effective. Wherefore th' obligation, which the whole Christian Commonwealth hath to the King, cannot be sufficiently comprehended; And whatsoever th' Acknowledgment be, it cannot be proportionable t' his aid and him, for confirming its Liberty so violently shaken; for giving stop to th' Ambition of so powerful an Enemy; for having raised so great Forces upon that Occasion, which might have been reported too great, but that they were necessary. The Reader will not take it ill, that I have here made this rough draught of the Conduct of that House, and particularly of the Branch of *Spain*, which is as the Mobile and Soul of the Conduct of th' other. If it cannot entirely b' imitated by other Princes and States, for the Reasons not here to b' expressed, It may be in part, and with some proportion. However, 'tis no small Matter t'have made it known, that a Defence may with Power and Knowledge be made against it.

Let's see now, if in these last Times *France* hath well understood the publick Mystery, whereof it hath been spoken in the beginning of this Discourse, and if in th' execution of its Design, it hath observed th' Order as hath been said ought to be kept, and changed Conduct according to the change of Conjunctures. To be satisfi'd in this, it must be supposed, That th' Intention of the King having been onely t'oppose th' unjust and unmeasurable Greatness of th' House of *Austria*, and t'hinder th' Usurpations that it projected on all sides to make; The Law of Contraries required, That he repaired chiefly to the places, where it endeavour'd to make its principal Establishments, and to break the Design, where the strength of Industry ought to be, and the gross of the Work which it designed; And it cannot be doubted, that almost in all the course of that long and sad War, which devours *Christen'om*, to the raising of the Siege at
Casall,

Casull, and to the riling of the *Catalans*, which followed it, but the Book II. places have been *Germany* and *Italy*. As to the first, 'tis certain, That 'tis a constant Resolution, and an Immortal Design in the Soul of those Princes, who take up th' Empire, as by Succession, to make also *Germany* their Patrimony. No person is ignorant what *Charls* the Fifth did, and what he did not, t'attain that End; And all the world knows also, and we do deduce it fully in the Treaty of Monarchy, How that Vast and Warlick Nation, whereof he did promise himself the Conquest, did escape him, and broke the Nets, wherewith he had entangled them. We have seen where it failed, That th' Emperour did not finish the Work h' had more than half done. But for the Peace of *Lubec*, whereof we have spoken, and the Degradation of *Waßhein* at the Dyet of *Ratisbon*, whereof we will speak in the Third Part, nothing visibly could have hindred him t'have given the last stroke; And it may be said of him, That after his Entry into the Port, he was beaten back to Sea, and reduced to the danger of drowning; We have seen th' hopes which Fortune made to flourish in the Soul of the King of *Hungary*, by a most desirable Conquest, and how far the Success was advanced, If *Torgau Banier* in his Retrait, had not disingaged himself, as by Miracle, from so many Armies as environ'd Him; And had, it may be, been destroyed, but for that wonderful and unheard of passage of the *Rhine*, made by *Sir of Longueville*, and but for the Relief and Courage which the Kings Arms commanded by that brave Prince, gave to them, who fought for the *German* Liberty, and to them who durst not have but good Intentions for the same Liberty. W' have formerly observed th' Extreme peril the *Swedish* Army, which had to that time been the Basis of the good Party of *Germany*, run in th' Higher *Palatinate*, and how near that Foundation was to b'overthrown, and th' Imperial Party t'have gained th' Ascendent, which might have been impossible for the *Swedes* t'have taken from them.

Moreover, as the flight from Evil is the first and the strongest Inclination of Nature, and as the Smarts of Pain and Image of Death stir the Soul Livelier, than th' Attractives of Pleasure, and th' Idæa of a Happy Life; so in th' Order of Passions which a Prince ought t'have for his Countreys, the love of Conservation ought always to precede the desire of Conquest; And before the thoughts of undertaking and making of any progress abroad, h'ought to provide for his safety within, and ought to submit to the publick Preservation at home, and cut off the Passages by which Disorder might Enter. And therefore since *Germany* onely can do us the most considerable mischief; since it is that Country which hath always sent th' Armies which have always over-run *France*, and that 'tis certain, That if th' Imperial Arms should be Victorious in *Germany*, they would not be confined to that Country, and that being augmented by th' Access of Confederate Forces, and with a number of other Forces, who would run thither by a Contest of Envy, They would discharge

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discharge themselves upon our Country ; They might fall into *Italy*, and make there the same Spoils, and cause the same Desolation, as when they descended there under the command of *Colaſto* ; or at least, they might so fortifie the *Spaniards* there, and affright th' *Italians*, that it would have been a great trouble t'us t'hinder them to finish the Designs, which th' had much advanced in *Germany*, and to divert th' *Italians* from accepting the Chains of Servitude or Dependency which had been prepared for them of so many years.

Madam the
Landgrave of
Hesse.

Since, I say, that all this is possible, I conclude, that th' heart, which the King gave to th' Arms of the Late King of *Sweden*, and which h' hath Continued to the Party he left in *Germany* ; That th' endeavours h' used to raise it after it had been almost beaten down before *Northlingen* ; That the Supplies of Money and Men which he sent divers times into that Countrey ; That the Treaties he made t' uphold th' Affairs, with the Late Duke of *Weimar* and the Troops he Commanded, and with that Generous Princeſs, whose Judgment and Constancy may serve for Example to the most Magnanimous Princes, and for shame to Cowards. I conclude, That whatsoever it hath Cost or may cost this Crown, That nothing was projected or done, but according to the Rules of good Policy, and particularly according to the Law of Prudence, which adviseth to make haste t'an Evill for the preventing of it, and not to stay till it hath made its Impression for the Repelling of it. I go on, and say further, That the King not only ought t' have sent into *Germany* Forces capable of Conjunction with the Confederates, to Counterpoise and hold in Check th' Imperialists, as th' have done to this time ; But that in that posture the least favour of Fortune might remove them out of Check, and that in a just Counterpoise, Nothing would be Easier for him than to make the Ballance fall on th' others side. This King then cannot be too much Commended for the Resolution he took to send such powerfull Armes ; That they put th' others Indubitably upon the defence ; That they gave them Constantly the Law, and prepared a sure way for the *German* Liberty, and for the General Peace of the Christian Common-Wealth.

As t' *Italy*, there's no Question to be made, but that it hath been a fixed and unchangable Design in the Spirit of the *Spaniards* to put th' *Italians* to the Yoak, and to Rob its Princes of all th' Estates they possessed there, or to reduce them to a Dependency which should not be much different from Subjection, but by the Vanity of Titles and by th' Exteriour of Forms. There's No need of Refreshing their Memory with th' Attempts of *Charles* the fifth, against the Liberty of this fair Countrey ; The Violence he Committed and th' Ambushes he formed against it ; That shall be represented at Length in the Treaty of Monarchy. There's no need also of Reporting all that the *Spaniards* undertook, since the Death of the late King ; Sometimes against the Duke of *Savoy* ; Sometimes against the *Venetians*, and against the *Valtoline* ; Sometimes against the Duke of *Mantoua* ; That's

to say all th' Attempts they've made, and all the Quarters they En- Book II.
deavoured t' Assault, and to Vvaken what remained there most En-
tire and Vigorous; it shall fully be seen in the Third part, in th' Apo-
logy of the Treaty of *Moncon*, and in that of th' Acquisition of
Pignerol. 'Tis necessary only, that memory b' had of the pittifull
Condition of that Countrey and of th' Auguries which appeared of
its Approaching Ruine. That when the *Spaniards* had forced the
Duke of *Parma*, Subdued the *Grisons*, Usurped *Zabionette* and *Mi-
randa*, Invaded almost all *Piedmont*, and all the *Montferrat*, and be-
sieged *Casall*, All th' hopes of its safety were reduced to th' Heroick
Courage of a Prince, who would perish, or save that place, and to the
good success of the King's Arms, which are not subject to th' Order
of things, and sometimes makes that facile which appears im-
possible.

I speak not of our Expeditions in *Flanders*, where it seems the
King for some years hath imploy'd the principal part of his Arms.
It belongs not to me t' undertake the Revealing of that Mystery, and
t' hoise the sail of a thing, which the Prudence of Governours would
have secret. There are in the Matters of State places, as dangerous
for particular persons to talk of, as Banks and Sands are to them who
sail; And as to them, the Morives of the Conduct of wise Princes
in many things, ought resemble to the Roots of Trees, which are
covered and invisible, whilst the Body and Branches are visible; or
to the Virtues of th' Heavens, whereof the Nature is not known,
though th' Effects are felt, and the Power admired; So, no Question
is to be made, but the King had great Reasons t' apply his Arms, as
h' hath done, to the War of the *Low-Countries*, though they be not
known t' all the World, and that the prospects had on that side were
just, though they pass the Reach of our sight.

Besides, what appeared and falls under the sense of every person,
which was to deliver our Frontiers from the Jealousie they received
from some of th' Enemies places, and chiefly to secure and re-inforce
Paris the more, which is as th' Heart and Noblest part of *France*; He
was also, it may be, engaged there by other Interests; which are not
altogether his, and t' adjust himself to the Interests of some of his
Neighbours, by that prudent Maxim of Policy, which holds forth,
That great Persons ought sometimes to take the Law from their In-
feriours, and follow their Motions when they have use of them;
And that a Disagreement would endanger th' Enterprize, If any of
the Wheels, to which it ought to give Motion, came to fail and to
be loose from the others. It may be, that in the Subjects of great and
profound Designs, which the King had upon that Country, t' e fore-
saw, that if they were all as happy, as they were wisely projected,
some Resolution might happen, that would for ever deliver his
Kingdom from Alarms, and from Incursions, which are made some-
times from that Neighbourhood. And truly, if th' Assault of *Calo*,
and the Siege of *St. Omer* had prospered, as in apparance they
ought

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ought t^e have done, or if an unexpected stroke, which made a Noise upon the Frontiers of *Campagna*, had not diverted the favourable progress, which promised the taking of *Ayres*, Th^e Effects of that Princes prevoyance, it may be, had been seen; It may b^e also, That h^e had a will to shut the Gates for a time, by which the Forces of *Germany* entring into *Flanders*, might over-run and make spoil in *France*.

But when things changed their Countenance, and that the Rifings of the *Catalans* formed another Conjunction, he changed also Conduct, and judged, as it hath been already observed, That after th^e Affairs of *Germany*, there was none whereunto h^e ought t^e apply himself with more heat, and to make a greater shew of his Forces, than to them of that Country; He foresaw, that the fruits which might be gathered from that Expedition, were not ordinary, and that th^e advantages which might arise to the common cause might prove strong Motives to the Peace, for which the War was made: For besides, that the *Spaniards* could not long act powerfully in *Spain*, in *Flanders*, and in *Italy*, and the nourishment they ought to give to their Original Country, would consume the food of th^e others Countrie, If the King of *Hungary* was seen full of troubles in *Germany*, and the King of *Spain* assaulted in th^e Heart of his Estates, and troubled to defend his Life. It was not impossible, but that two Benefits also might arise very considerable; Th^e one, that the Princes of *Germany*, separated from the good Party, might take courage to rejoyne with it; Th^e other, that the League, wherein to that time they had laboured unprofitably, t^e introduce th^e *Italian* Princes, might be formed, and that they would not lose so fair an occasion to drive them away, who had stolen the Liberty of their Country, and to take away the mixture and confusion of Nations, and forein Manners, which sully and disfigure it. For t^e imagine, that for less than that, the *Republique of Venice*, the most considerable of all those Princes, for what concerns Temporal things; That can give a shaking t^e other Princes, and after that make no difficulty t^e enter the Lifts it had opened, would be perswaded to that League, 'Tis to b^e ignorant of their spirit; It were to b^e a stranger to their Maxims; And to believe, what is desired, upon the single Motions of passion. This point shall b^e examin'd in the following Discourse, this having been but too long. I add onely, for advise of them who might find cause to desire something here on our part upon the subject of great Extremities, wherein th^e Affairs have sometimes fallen in *Germany* and *Italy*; That the King could not do all things in all places, and that it may be he had done too much, as hath else-where been observed, but for an absolute Necessity and Inevitable, even for the good of his own Kingdom, to do it; That he could not alone divert all th^e Evils that might happen in that Country, by the failings and insensibility of them, who were more interrested than himself, and for whose Liberty he took so great pains, and made so great an Expence.

Expence ; That in the course and great variety of Affairs, which Book II.
exercis'd him, he could not always ordain ; That they who received
his Orders, should b' as happy t' execute them, and to compleat them,
as he was prudent in laying of the Design, and preparing the Model ;
But 'tis a wonder, which will appear almost incredible to future
Ages, and will be one of the fairest Beams of the glory of this Prince,
and one of the Noblest Monuments of his Incomparable Reign, That
by his Wisdom, his Courage, and his Power, he rais'd at home, and
with his Allies, what was ready to Fall ; That he did set straight
there all that began to Lean, and ever disappointed Fortune of her
Malitious Progress, and of the Consequences of her Surprizes.

Eighth Discourse.

*In what Conjunction it may be probably thought, That the Venetians will
enter int' a League against the Spaniards.*

THough I do not think it necessary that this League, whereof
hath been spoken, be made, or that the time of a General
Peace be so backward, as t' attend the finishing of so difficult a Ne-
gotiation ; I have believed nevertheless, that it would not b' imper-
tinent for me to speak my thoughts, to make the Genius of the *Ve-*
netian Republique to be the better known, and what may b' ex-
pected from it on like Occasions, and at the same time to make it ap-
pear to th' Author of a small Pamphlet, which appeared a little after
the last Siege of *Casal*, under the name of a *Montferrat* Soldier, That
the Season was not then come to form that League, as he did pre-
tend it, and that the King was not ripe, according to the Sense of that
Republique, and the Maxims of their Policy.

The foundation whereupon I do build my Opinion is this, That
it being th' ordinary Nature of Republicques to be very distrustful,
and to fear more than hope, when th' Apparances of Evil and Good
are equal ; It may be said, That *Venice*, of all other Republicques,
Labours most of that humour ; And that th' Inclination it hath in all
it undertakes to give the least it can't Hazard, and the most to Pru-
dence, is the cause ; that 'tis seldom enclined for the War, which is
an Element of Fortune, unless an extreme Danger do force it, or a
visible Benefit invite it. I could bring a number of antient Examples
to confirm this Truth, if I did not believe, that Modern would be
of most use and credit, as most efficacious, and of greater Instruction
than th' others. In that high and wonderful Design, which the late
King had formed against th' House of *Austria*, and to put the Quiet
of *Christendom*, so often troubled by that House, in some state of
consistency, he caus'd the Republique to be solicited to be of the
Party ; And notwithstanding the power h' had with them, which
could not be greater, and th' Advantages h' had propos'd unto
them,

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Book II. them, which were not small, for the Price of their Arming, and for th' interest of th' Expence it should make ; Though it was onely intended for the breaking off th' rons of *Italy*, and to force from the *Spaniards* what they held unjustly there ; Though all the fruits of the Conquest, whereof the greatest part was to be at his Charges, and by his Forces, were to be gathered for th' *Italians*, and that he reserved onely the glory of being their Liberator ; and to make the *Spaniards* lose the place of drawing together the greatest part of their Armies, which was then the State of *Milar* ; Yet he could never draw from that Republique, but general Words of Good-will and of Prailes, which were uttered above measure, as 'tis its custom, to that Magnanimous Prince, who had no lesser Thoughts than to be the Flayl and th' Exterminator of Tyrants, the Restorer and Arbitrer of the Christian Common-wealth.

The Republique then of *Venice* was not so blinded with the proposals that were made unto it, nor with th' Apparences wherewith they were cloathed, but that they had before their Eyes th' Instability of Human Things, and th' ordinary Games of Fortune, the perpetual Motion of her Wheel, and the sudden and frequent Revolutions which th' occasions in the World it apprehended, that before the Work, whereof the Platform was represented, was finished, or else well begun, th' undertaker might fail, either by a natural Death, which would not be strange, or by a violent End, which was not without Example. It desired to see all the Contexture of the League ; The seat and Action of the Pieces of that Engine, and the Success of its first Motions ; That if it saw cause to renounce it, or to b' assaulted with some sad Accident, there might be no cause of Repentance for Joyning, nor t' accuse themselves of Precipitation and of falling, for having made too much haste ; That if th' Heavens look'd favourably upon that League, and gave it a propitious Wind, It knew well, that the door would b' always open unto't ; It knew, that without her, th' Expedition which was discoursed of for *Italy*, would be weak and lame, and that the perfections of its good success depended upon the conjunction of their Arms with those of other Princes. And then in entring the League it should run but a little hazard, and make but a small Advance of Moneys ; It might find th' Harvest ready ; It would have nothing to do, but to pursue the Remainders of the Victory, and should come rather to the Dividing, than Taking of the Prey. Such was the belief of the late King upon the Demeanor of that Republique, and to that purpose he gave charge to Sir of *Bullion* to speak to the Duke of *Savoy*, to whom h' had sent him to Conclude and Terminate the League, which the Sirs of *Nemburs* and of *Wancelas* had begun with him. The Reader may see it at length in th' Instruction given to the Sir of *Bouillon*, which in my opinion is a very excellent Piece, and one of the best things that I have seen in its kind. Let's go on.

After that *Cordova* had besieged *Casall*, and by an Attempt, whose beginning

beginning wanted a pretence to colour it ; And had made it appear Book II.
to th' *Italians* , That his Master would make no difference betwixt
what might accommodate him , and what did belong to him ; The
Republique armed vigorously , and made some demonstration of
interessing themselves in that Quarel. Nevertheless , of whatsoever
Importance the conservation of *Casal* was for the safety of *Italy* , and
though th' Ambition of *Spain* had not a stronger Barrier in that
Country than that place ; The Republique could never be perswaded
to relieve it , or to send their Army into *Montferrat* t'assault *Cordova's*
Army , which was not Invincible , or to make a diversion on *Cre-*
mona's side , which was very easie to be done. But after it had seen
th' happy Success of the Siege of *Rochel* , and the passage of *Suza*
forced , and by consequence one of the Gates of *Italy* open t'our Ar-
mies ; The Republique resolv'd to command their Arms t'enter into
the state of *Milan* , in whose defence it saw but a few Astonished
Troops , and the Reliques of an Army , which Winter and the Be-
sieged had ill used before *Casal* , and which had no strength , but to flie
and to save it self at the sight of ours.

Though it was so , and that probably the fruits of the Victory
the King had obtained could not be more certain or more fruitful ,
if it had been pursued ; Though it seem'd then , that no labour re-
mained , but to gather the Favours which Fortune offer'd us of Her
self , and to receive what would be rendred , yet many strokes ought
t'have been made , and Combats fought , to make the Republique
resolve to send Orders to their Generals to pass the *Rubicon* ; That is ,
t'enter with a Warlike Posture into *Cremona* , and to Leap the
Bounds had been almost an Age Sacred and Inviolable unto them.
It was not without a long Agitation of Thoughts and extreme La-
bour of Spirit , that it was perswaded to that bold Resolution ;
Th'Eloquence and Address of *Sir of Avaux* , how great soever , was
never more pussed than to make the Republique t'undertake it ; It
brought the same Formalities , and the same Precautions , as when it
determin'd t'accept the War , which th' *Herald* of *Lewis* the 12th de-
clared against it on the behalf of the League of *Cambray* ; Or that
which the *Chaux* of *Selim* the Second did intimate unto t' for the
possession of *Cyprus* : And since , after that , for Important Conside-
rations , which I have touch'd in the First Part , the King had stop-
ped the course of the Victory of *Suza* , and given Peace to the *Spa-*
niards , who were no longer in a condition to d'Evil t'our affairs ;
The Republique many times avowed to *Sir of Avaux* , That their
Resolution to break so suddenly with *Spain* was Matter of great
Astonishment to them , and was done by a kind of surprize , and
contrary to th'ordinary course of their Conduct , so far t'Engage in
the Quarrel of the Duke of *Mantoua*.

It may also b'observed by the War , or rather by the Persecution
which the late Emperour and the King of *Spain* exercis'd upon that
Duke , That 'tis very hard to draw the *Venetians* t'an Offensive

Book II. League, and reengage them in a War, but by the Temptation of some great Advantage, which may appear to them as infallible, or by the Fear of a great Evil, which assaults them with Fury, and is ready, if it be not staid, to break upon them. So they could not be induc'd to draw into the Field against the *Spaniards*, when *Casal* was at Bay, and all the *Montferrat* at Mercy; Till they saw on th'other side the Mountains, the *French* Colours to be display'd, and with them th'Hopes of the Conquest of *Milan*, and of the partition of that fair Country, which seem'd to be open'd unto them by the Fortune of *France*; When they saw *Mantoua* in danger, and upon th' instant of loss; When they saw that th'Affair press'd on that side, and that th'Evil was Inviolence; And by consequence, that the place which, in th'Hand of the Duke of *Mantoua*, served for a Rampart to some parts of their Country on the Land-side, falling into th'Hands of th'Emperour or the King of *Spain*, would be made as a Citadel to command it; They gave orders for their Army's advance for the Relief of *Mantoua*. But whether the Remedy came too late, or that the Malady was no longer capable of Cure, or that th'ill Conduct or Imprudence of them, who were ordered to disperse it, corrupted the Virtue, or hinder'd th'Operation, It hapn'd, that it did not produce th'effect which the *Venetians* had propos'd to themselves, and express the matter, as it was; The delays they us'd in resolving upon that Relief; Th'Order of that Design the Duke of *Roban* had contriv'd, which one of the chief Commanders of their Army changed by Jealousie, and th' Ill Intelligence which did arise betwixt the Duke of *Candale* and the Marshal of *Estrée*, were the fatal Causes of the Loss of a place, which was of so great Concernment to the *Venetians* to Conserve. I conclude, from hence, That th'Eminent danger which excites them to Act, hanging no longer over their Head, and the defeat of the *Spaniards* before *Casal*; the great losses they suffer'd before *Thurin*; And th' other disgraces which have since hapn'd unto them, Having dissipated the fears they Labour'd of, lest the *Spaniards* should extend their Invasions upon the rest of *Italy*; And seeing that the Fortune of th' House of *Austria* was Highly sustained in *Germany*, and that the Spring which might send powerfull Reliefs to the State of *Milan* was not drawn drye, 'Tis not to be wondred, if they do refuse to embarke in a Quarrel, wherein there's no great Evil for them to fear, nor certain good to hope for, in case they did embarque in it. But if they saw the Confederate Forces Superiour, and prevalent in *Germany*, as they saw in *Spain*, the Seeds of a long War, and the Matter of a lasting Quarrel; And by consequent, that it should act no more in *Italy*, but by languishing and weak Means; There's probability that they would make use of the Conjuncture, and would have been glad to have gain'd some part of the State of *Milan*, which might have been convenient for them; Or at least, that they would put themselves in a posture to make the *Spaniards* throw up th' Usurpations
th'

th' had made in *Piedmont* and *Montferrat*, being able to do't safely and without fear of Revenge. And in truth, it would be a strange and very unjust thing, that being so interess'd as they are in the Liberty of *Italy*, and having so much there to lose, they should ever stand there, as immoveable Spectators of what passeth in that Country; And in rest and ease, leave their Friends always to labour the Work of their Safety, and contribute nothing to th' advancement of the Peace, and raising of the Temple, that is prepared for them; but Idle Reasonings; but superfluous Wishes and Endeavours without Effect. For that Peace, I say, which is th' End of the Kings Arms, and th' object of his Hottest and Constant desires, for which, He lays up so many Cares and Labours; Exposeth His Person to so many Danger; and draws so much Money from the purses of his Subjects, and so much blood from their Veins; for that Peace, which ought not only t' ease the Wounds of *Christendome*, but ought fully t' Heal and strengthen it; which ought not only to be a Remedy against present, but also a preservation against future Evils; which ought to put Inferiour Persons in safety from the Violence and Attempts of the greatest Persons, and under whose shadow all shall enjoy what shall belong to them without Trouble or Jealousie.

Ninth Discourse.

What Conditions that Peace ought t' have which all Honest Persons desire, That it may be Just and Sure; That the particular Peaces which th' House of Austria Endeavours to make would be the Ruine of them who make it.

WHAT I've said of the League, which the Republique of *Venice* might be disposed to make, and of the Peace, to which it ought to Contribute more reality and effect, than wishes and Endeavours, Invites me to say a Word of the Conditions, which such a Peace ought t' have, and of th' ill Fortune of those Princes, wh' have estranged themselves from it in *Germany*. To th' end then, that it may be such, as all Honest Men desire, and to lay the Foundations so deep and solid, That there may be no fear of the falling of the building, or that it Crack of a long time, It must of necessity be a General Peace, And that all they wh' associate to make War, make but one Composed Body of many Members, and have but one soul to Move them, and but one End t' Aim at; That the Confederates procure to themselves mutually and without the spirit of Emulation, all th' Honest Helps and all the Reasonable Advantages, which may serve for common safety; That although the League offensive doth separate, and their Armies disband, a defensive League do remain
ever

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ever a foot, As Guardian of the Peace, and as th' Holy Ancre upon which it may repose, by which all the Confederates ought t'oblige themselves to run the fire down, that shall undertake to break it, and to rekindle the Torches which it had put out, and revive the Troubles which it had quieted; And that from th' Indissoluble union and the perfect Correspondency of Princes and others of that League, so powerfull a Counterpoise be formed, and so Strong and High a Levy made against th' Ambition of th' House of *Austria*, That it might be Compelled to contain its self, within the Limits, which shall be prescribed, and t' enjoy the good of Acquiescence it would lose by taking it away from others.

'Tis of this Matter, that the peace whereof Christendome hath need, ought to be made, that it may be durable; 'Tis upon this Basis that it ought to be raised, if Men would have it subsist. Besides this way, I do not see, That strength Enough or subsistence can be given it; And 'tis certain, that if the Confederates shall be tempted by the Baits and Advantages, which will be presented unto them by particular Treaties, and that the Members of the League do sever from the body, that they compose; They will infallibly be lost; And it will befall them, as to those Insects, which are cut in peeces, that preserve for a little time some Motion and Life, but Dye and Perish a little after, for being deprived of the Virtue, that did arise from th' Union of all the parts, as the Principle of their Duration. From whence it may be seen, what Imprudence the Duke of *Saxe* is guilty of, and th' other Princes of *Germany* who followed the course of the first Mobile, to sever themselves from the *Swedish* Alliance. For, without speaking of th' offence committed against Honesty, by that separation whereof, mention hath been made; of that Villainous Blot of Ingratitude, wherewith they have Charged themselves in the Memory of a Prince to whom they were so much indebted; Their Interests obliged them alwaies to stand united; And instead of that unlucky Peace of *Prague*, which was sold unto them so dear; They should have Laboured a General peace, which had not left open any Wounds nor Burning-firebrands in th' Empire; which had not left any Snares, nor concealed any Ambushes, and which might have been gained by a shorter or a less grievous War, than that which was shut up in th' other and yet continues. In Effect, if Powder had not been Cast into th' Eyes of those Princes, and if their Council had not deceived them; If some little Light or some little Liberty had been left them to see, what they did, or t' hinder the doing of it; Is there any Apparence but that they had seen the Precipice, whither they brought them, or that they would have descended Voluntarily into it? Is there any Probability that they would have taken so grossly th' Exchange that was given them; That they would depart from a Society to put themselves into Chains, and that from Equals and Companions as they were of the *Suedes*, They would have made themselves slaves of th' Imperialists, and Dependents upon the *Spaniards*?

ards? Would they not have Known, that instead of passing by a light discontent and a small distaste received from one of the Ministers of State of the Crown of *Swede*, wherein an easie Remedy might have been found, They expos'd themselves t' all th' Injuries; which Tyranny hath Accustom'd to practise with them, of whom they will b' assured, and are afraid of, lest they should Escape them? That in th' Alliance of that Crown, what they Contributed to th' Entertainment of the War, was voluntary, or could not exceed the Contents of the Conditions of the Treaty; what they ought to Contribute to that of th' Emperours, had no other Limits but their want of power; That the Charge of th' Expence, which they would be oblig'd to make would re-double without stint, and would b' Heavy without Measure; And that they would not less endeavour in that deceitfull and unfaithfull Confederation to cause all their Heat and Spirits to b' exhale'd, and to draw from them Monies and Men, Than t' exterminate the *Suedes* out of *Germany*, and to purge, as they say, th' Empire of forein Nations, wh' have Cast themselves into't, that they might have nothing to doe, but with them, when they've done with others?

If from the Principles of the *Spanish* Policies, which Reign as freely at *Vienna* as at *Madrid*, they will not draw so necessary a Conclusion; Let them infer it at least from their own Experience, and Consider, That if others would not Hold them but by the Bands of Friendship, and by the sense of good Turnes; if they had not a design to Consume them in destroying the *Suedes* and other Strangers, and to make use of them against *Suedes* and Strangers, as the Refiners do Lead, to Purifie Gold and Silver in the Refining Vessel, which, in the same instant it sends into smok th' other imperfect Metalls, Evaporates it self and is lost with them it forceth away. They would not have made, as they have done to their power their Countries the Theatre of the War; They would not have made the same scorn of their Troops, as of their Enemies; And they should have received at least, as gentle Entertainment, as what the Duke of *Baviere* received. Let them remember the discourse held at *Rome* by th' Ambassadors of the Late Emperor upon the Complaints there made of the Concession their Master had granted of the Goods of the Church to the Duke of *Saxe*, to the great Damage and Disdain of Religion, and to the great scandal of good Catholiques. That it was the small Aid and Subvention received from th' *Holy Chair*, which constrained him; That it was the Violence of his Affairs that had forced him; And that it was th' hardest and most Inexorable of all Laws, That of Necessity to which He had obeyed.

Let the Clearing now of this Mystery and of the Concealed sense of these Words b' examined; Let the secret spirit they contain be drawn out; And it may be Judged in my opinion, That that peace Holding more of Force than of Election, and Being rather torn, than freely past from the Will of th' Emperor; There would be no want

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Book II. of Doctors to prove that it ought not to be observed, at least by his Successors who had not made it; That they could not be obliged to hold what was not lawfull for their Predecessors to grant, and that no Promises were more unlawfull, and whose Ligament is sooner to be Cut, and Damage repaired, than such as wound Religion, and dissipate the goods of the Church, for the Protection and Defence whereof, they've a particular and inevitable Obligation. The Princes then, who've quitted the Confederations so Solemnly sworn, and so often renewed with their true Friends, to cast themselves into the peace of *Prague*, ought to hold for certain, that they've abandoned the pursuit of a Reality, and of a Body, to embrace an Apparition and a shadow; And that there's but one of these three ways open to their future Condition, Either to remain for the final prey of the Imperialists, as hath been expressed, and to make up the Conclusion of the Game they play in *Germany*, if the Confederate party be subdued; or if the Victory fall on the *Swedes* side, To endure the Troubles of the violation of publique Faith, and the Effects of the Vengeance which the blood of the King of *Sweden* requires, poured out for the Redemption of their Liberty; or at last, if they will see the Truth of this *Amnestia*, which is the Subject of the Confederate Armes, instead of that other Imaginary, which hath been the Bait, wherewith the House of *Austria* hath caught them; If they would see the Constitutions and the Ancient Order of the Empire to flourish; If they would see a perpetual Fence made to the Ambition of them that throw it open, That I say, This may be done Quickly and Easily, There's nothing to be done, but to return to the good Party, and to rejoyne with them who Labour with so much vehemency at this Immortal work. I go on and say also, That as there's no doubt to be made but the House of *Austria* will move all the Wheels of their Policy to disunite the League, which is on foot in *Germany*, and to reduce the present Troubles to particular peaces, and like to that of *Prague*; And 'tis not, I say, to be doubted, but it will be made, that every one of the Confederates Engaged for his particular, and severed from the body of the League, may be found the weaker to resist him, when he shall be Assaulted, Though the Contrary be promised. And to be secured from this Inconveniency, 'Tis necessary to take the Counter Course taken by that House, and to put in practice the Law of Contraries, which is of so great Use in the Affairs of the World; All the Confederates ought to resolve never to Disunite; To reject all proposals, that may be made them of particular Treaties, as a designed Poyson which shall be presented to them in the form of a Remedy; and to Insist upon it till it be concluded in the project of a General Peace; That it be not declined, till it be Accomplished, and in such a Defensive League, as I've here above described.

But lest, that in Threatning them with the License, which is said, The House of *Austria* gives it self to violate all Treaties, whose observation

Observation is Damageable, and the not Observation Advantageous Book II.
unto it, I may give them a false Alarm, and raise fear from a false Imagination. It may be, that 'tis as Carefull to perform what she Promiseth, and particularly, when the Name of God is Interposed, as it hath been, th' other specious Apparences of Piety, and th' out-side of Exemplary Religion; And that it Aims at nothing more than a good Peace, and that its Intention is, when it hath gained this Haven, to put it self no more in danger for the Future, unless it be forced upon so Dangerous a Sea, as the Warr. I will demonstrate here the Contrary, and make it Evident, That in truth, it gives it self that License, and that it doth abuse the Name of God, and plaies with the Publick Faith, when their Interests require it, more than any Prince of the World. For this purpose, I do not intend to play the Orator, nor to make use of an Art, which boasts of her Colours, and lights, to Change, when it pleaseth the state of Things, and to make them seem Great or Little, Fair or Ugly, when it shall seem good unto Her; This is as much Estranged from my Humours, as 'tis above my Forces; And I do Heartily renounce, an Exercise, which I should discharge Unhandsomely, if I did undertake it. I will not here neither, produce all the Breaches of the Treaties, which this House of *Austria* hath made, nor all th' Infidelities, wherewith it hath stained its Conduct. Great Volumes are only capable to Contain them. I will touch only upon somewhat more Modern, as more Sensible, and upon what hath passed in these latter times in *Germany* and *Italy*.

As *Italy*, who knows not that the last Warrs the *Spaniards* have made to the Duke of *Savoy*, Grand-father to this Duke, have alwaies budded from the Breach on their part of th' Treaties, which preceded? And so soon as the fear of th' Evil, which had Obligated them for Accomodation, was over, and that the hope of th' End which they had Proposed to their Arms, began to Revive, They lost the Memory of the Peace they had Sworn, and made no Difficulty to renew the Quarrel, and to re-kindle the Disorder at the Charges of their Faith, and against all Justice. So that what Intervened betwixt two Warrs, was not so much a Peace as a Suspension of Arms, nor the Cure of the Feaver, as the Remission of th' Accets; The fire was Covered under th' Ashes, but Dyed not in th' Intention of the *Spaniards*, and it hapned t' all that Affair, as to Wounds ill Dressed, which often break out; It was renewed frequently; And that Game lasted till new Accidents made the *Spaniards* take new Designs, and that the Troubles of *Germany* allayed them of *Italy*.

I speak not here of the Peace of *Susa*, which they Violated without other Colour, than that they were Necessitated to do 't, for th' Interest of their Reputation; nor of th' Ingratitude, wherewith they requited the Courtisie, which the King did in their behalf, and that rare Moderation which made him bound his Prosperity by the

Book II. delivery of his Allies, and permitted him not t' Overcome, but where it found Resistance. It hath been Spoken of in another place, and shall be Spoken of more fully in the Third Part. I remit also to speak there of the Treaty of *Cuirasque*, which the Necessity of the German Affairs forced from them, rather than the Love of the Peace of *Italy*; And to which, the Resolutions of the Dyet of *Ratisbone*, and th' Entry of the King of *Swede* into *Germany*, where th' Evidences of the Tempest did then Appear, which hath since fallen upon th' House of *Austria*, forced them to consent, and to set their Hands with design not t' observe it, so soon as they had sent us over the Mountains, as shall be declared at large, in th' Apology of th' Acquisition of *Pignero*. I will not also, Revive here the Deceits they practised towards the *Venetians*, and th' Alterations they gave them upon the business of th' *uscoques*. It were to repeat, but what hath been said. I pass also in silence the various Tricks which at several times they put upon the *Grisons*, and th' Artifices, and open Force, wherewith they have't often assaulted their Liberty, against the Faith of the Treaties, made with them, and with their Allyes.

That will be seen in the Third Part, in th' Apology of the Treaty of *Mancon*, where I give a very Exact Table of th' Affairs of that Common-wealth. I come to them of *Germany*, and to what passed upon that Seean, not less Famous by the Treaties, than by the Warrs, which were managed there: Who knows not that the Peace of *Ulmes*, Concluded by the Mediation of *France*, gave Means to th' Emperour t' Ease himself of the Weight of the Warr under which he Groaned, and t' unravel the Perplexities from which he could not be dis-intangled but by that Expedient? And who knows not also, That he observed it no longer than was Necessary for to prepare for a Warr, which he resolved in Swearing the Peace; And that the Ruine of the Count *Palatine*, and of his Friends, proceeded only from the Confidence they raised in that Treaty, and from that Ruinous Foundation, whereupon they trusted, as upon an Holy Anchor, by the Right of Nations, by the Reverence of the Name of God, which therein was Interposed, and by th' Authority of so Great a Mediator as the King of *France*.

After the Gain of the Battel of *Prague*, and that fatal Series of Prosperities which follows great Victories; After that th' Imperial Arms had Triumphed over all that favoured the *Palatines* party, and that the Count of *Tilly*, and Marquis of *Spinola*, had stripped Naked that unhappy Prince, Th' Emperour transferred his Electorate to the Duke of *Baviere*, and divided his Country between him and the King of *Spain*; But it being pretended, that the Formalities Ordained by the Golden Charter, and by th' other Pragmatic Sanctions, had not been observed in that Translation and Partition; and for fear, that proceeding which they supposed to be Violent, should Offend th' other *Electors* by a common Interest, and Provoke the

the King of *England* to a Revenge, and to Prosecute the Reparation of th' Out-rage done to his Son-in-Law; Th' Emperour protested in the Dyet of *Ratisbone*, in the year 1662. That h' had transferred th' *Electorate* to th' House of *Bavie* for the Dukes Life only, that was Invested with it; And for what Concerned the *Palatinate*, he would make Reparation to the Count *Palatine*, and give Satisfaction thereupon to his Friends: He gave the same Assurances to the King of *England* by his Letters, in the year 1623. which the Duke of *Bavie* also Confirmed by his Letters, and signified the King; He understood that it was only for his Life, that his House should Enjoy th' Electoral Dignity, and that h' had Accepted it upon Condition of Return to th' House, from whence it was taken, and should be the Privilege of his Person, and not th' Inheritance of his Heirs. It was th' Allay that was alwaies Presented to the King of *England*, and wherewith he Suffered himself alwaies to be Surprized; And his Inclination naturally disposed to the Sweetness of Rest, and to the Delicacies of Peace, was Easily diverted by that shew, which was made of giving him Content, from the Thoughts of Warr, which were not Natural to him. In th' Expectation of th' Effects of those hopes, he finished his Life, which from time to time were renewed unto him; And th' Earl of *Gondemar*, who had seized upon the Kings Understanding, and taken Sovereign Possession of it to Govern him absolutely, knew how to represent th' Execution of that Affair so infallible, as not only t' Hinder the King from Arming against the Usurpators of his Son-in-Laws Lands, but Enclined him also to Lend Ships to his Master, to secure against th' *Hollanders* the *Spanish Fleets*, which Sailed from th' *Indies*.

That business hath ever since been in the same Condition on th' Emperours part, and stood alwaies floting in Irresolution and Incertitude, till the Accident of *Northlinghen*, which was fatal to the *Swedes*. The greatest part of the Princes, and free Towns of th' Empire, fell from their Confederation, and Conspired at *Prague* with th' House of *Austria*, against the *German Liberty*. Th' Emperour High and Proud with his prodigious Success, and believing himself Master of Affairs and Fortune, forgetting the Promises he had so Solemnly made to the Late King of *England*, and the Faith h' had so often given him in Favour of his Son-in-Law, though nothing had passed against him on that Princes occasion, nor by the Means of his Children, but a Sad and Lamentable Progress of Calamity, and of Disgraces, declared by his own Authority, (though he could not Lawfully do it) but by th' Authority of a Lawfull Dyet, and all Parties heard, declared I say, th' *Electorate* duely Translated to the Duke of *Bavaria*, and to his Heirs, and that it could not Devolve t' any other Family till his was Extinguished; Moreover, He declared th' Opposition made by the Duke of *Newbourge*, as Prince of the *Palatine Family*, to be Void, and that he was not to b' admitted upon his Claim; And that this was done upon great and im-

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portant Considerations, known t' his Imperial Majesty; That he Maintained and Confirmed in the Partition and Possession of the Palatinate, them, wh' had taken it in his Name, and by his Authority, with Respect to b' had to the Count Palatines, and to the Requests of Princes, who should Intercede for them, and under such base and shamefull Conditions, That he knew well they would never b' Accepted.

But remembring the Bloody affront done to the present King of England, and the Counterpoise that he might bring to the Ballance, where the Victory hung betwixt two Parties, if he should declare for his Enemy; Remembring also the Damages the Low-Country-men would receive in the Cessation of the Recruits th' English might bring them; And other Consequences that might arise from th' Hatred of a Prince, provoked to Revenge by frequent disdains offered unto him, and by th' Extreme injuries done t' his Nephews; He re-assumed the Foxes skinn, which h' had put off at the Treaty of Prague, and Exercised the first Arr, wherewith h' had so often play'd his Game with the Father, t' abuse the Son, and to suspend the Resolution he might take, to seek by Force, what had been denied t' his Intercession and Endeavours. He made shew then of Entertaining the profers of Accommodation, which were made to Him; He received the King of Englands Message for that purpose, and seemed to desire a Solemn Embassage t' yield with the greater Honour, and to give the more Glory to the Treaty he would Conclude. But th' Journey of th' Earl of Arundel; The several Distasters, which he there received, and the Dissatisfaction, which at last he brought back, made Clearly manifest to the World, the Truth of th' Emperours Intentions, and that it was a studied Artifice to gain Time, and to try the Fortune of Warr with the more Advantage, having to do with the fewer Enemies.

I speak not of what hapned to the last Ambassadour, that was sent from England, nor of the success of his Embassy, which hath not given the Lye to the former; 'Tis a matter too new and present to b' unknown by any Person. And this may be said in favour of th' House of Austria, That it being necessary, the Treaty to be Concluded, should be debated by the King and Parliament of the Kingdome; The time was not proper for it, whilst the King and his Parliament were divided; That truly is not without Reason and plausible Pretence, but the secret of th' Affairs is, That so long as the Schism shall last, and the Fire which th' English have kindled in the midst of their Country, be maintained in Heat and Force, The King of Hungary, and they of his Party, have no Cause to fear their Arms, nor t' hasten a Treaty. And if it b' Expedient, that they treat in Earnest, it may be time enough, when th' English have re-assumed their former Union, and the design of restoring the Palatines House, and re-establishing of the Princes, th' Emperour and his Adherents had stripped to their Shirts.

That whilst they run th' Hazard of the Warr, either they may gain

gain so Considerable Successes, and their Power may Encrease so Book II.
Plentifully, That when *England* shall enter into the League, which
all sorts of Reasons d' invite it to do, and to Joyn his Forces with
the Forces of the Confederates, They would have nevertheless
Cause t' hope for Victory, and should not b' obliged to part with
that Willingly, which they could not take from them by Force.

These Prejudications, which are Offered, accompanied with
many others shall be set down in the Third Part, may suffice to
make it appear to our Confederates, what Foundation they can
raise upon the Duration of particular Treaties, to which th' House
of *Austria* doth press and solicit them. And the *Suedes* above all
Persons, whom they would debosh from the Confederation of
France, and against whose Faith they raise their strongest Batteries,
and Arm their subtillest Artifices, are too Dextrous to b' ignorant
of the constant Resolution, and immoveable Will of those Princes
of that House, not to Suffer them, having advanced their Power so
far into *Germany*, to take deep Root there, or that so Powerfull a
Member, and of so Warlike a Nation, should b' adjoyned to th'
Empire. I believe also, that they doubt not, as to what respects the
Duration and Subsistence of the particular Treaty they should have
made with them, but that they would find a thousand Pretences of
Honour to break without Disgrace, and a thousand Evasions of
Conscience to Violate it without Scruple, and that they will bring
to their Relief, as hath been in another place Discourfed, that
Maxim, which they hold ever in Reserve to make use of in time of
need, That they are not obliged t' hold Faith with *Heretiques*;
Chiefly, when it hath been given in things which help to confirm
Herefie in any Country, from whence they have a design to Banish
it, which furnish it with Food and Strength, which swells and makes
it proud with Temporal and other Human advantages for Subsist-
ence. That giving them the Reputation of Robbers of the People,
and for Ravishers of Estates, as infallibly they will do; They make
use against them of that Opinion of the Casuists, which is derived
from the Root of Nature, and whereof th' Heathen have not been
ignorant; That promises made to Robbers by force, when Men are
at their Discretion, and the Power is in their Hands, oblige not by
Consequence th' Observation of them, and impose not a Yoak,
which may not be broken without doing Evil.

Briefly, they ought t' hold for certain, That the *Spaniards* enjoy-
ing *Spain*, the fruitfullest Mine, and the fullest Spring of the Cases
of Conscience that is in *Christendome*; And being Masters of the
Stock, from whence more abundantly, than from any other place,
the sharp and subtil Doctors, who make when they will, such curi-
ous and exquisite Anatomies of th' Actions and Manners of Men,
and wh' have full Magazines of Colours, to disguise things; who
decide with a wonderfull Boldness, such Difficulties, as the Bible,
the Councils, the *Popes*, and the *Fathers* would not touch; And
failing

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failling for the moit part of a fixed Point t' establish their Opinions upon. and making use of so soft and flexible a Rule to measure them by, as their Reasoning; Know by consequent t'accommodate them when they please, to th' Inclinations of them who consult with them.

The *Swedes*, I say, ought t'hold for certain, That the Princes of that House will ever find some of their Doctors (for the same Judgment is not to be past upon all of them) who will maintain, That not t'hold t' Heretiques what hath been promised them, is no Evil, when a Good may arise from it to Religion; And to strip them of Temporal Goods, which serve for Nourishment, and Aid t' Heresie, though the possession of them had been promised, is not an Action more blamable, than to take a Sword from th' hand of a furious Person, who might run it through his Heart; what promise soever had been made to the contrary. At the worst, The Princes of the Time, and particularly they of th' House of *Austria*, are too Intelligent and too Ingenious to want th' occasions of Troubles, when they've use of them; And th' Affairs of *Christendome* are at this day so vexed and confused, that what care soever is taken to clear and compose them, 'tis certain, that for a long Time there will be but too much matter of Quarrel and of offence, for them wh' have a mind to't.

Tenth Discourse.

That the Confederation between the King and his Associates hath all the necessary Conditions required in a durable Peace; Some Considerations upon the Nature of Leagues, that they may the better be maintained.

IT appears clearly by what hath been above-said, that the Troubles of *Christendom* cannot b' appeased by such deceitful and unfaithful Means, as particular Peaces; And that it were to build its Acquiescence upon Ice, which would dissolve at the first Beams of the Sun, to raise it upon so uncertain and shallow a Foundation. And that it may be such, as is desired, it must be raised upon the Basis of a General Peace; And that a permanent Confederation of them, wh' are associated to make War, be the Buckler of that Peace, and the Rampier to secure it, from th' assaults that may be made against it; It must b' also the perpetual obstacle to restrain th' House of *Austria*, and t'hinder it from making Invasions upon his Neighbours, and to vex it for the future, as it Hath done others for the time past. And as there is so strong a Bond, and so streight a Correspondency between the Branches and the Dependences of that House, that it may be said, they've all but one Interest, and that th' are seen to run to the Relief of one another with the same Heat and Impetuosity, as if it were their own business. In like manner, all other

other things laid aside, the Confederate Powers ought always to b' of a good understanding, and ever ready t'act unanimously against th' House of *Austria*, as often as it shall stir injuriously against any of them; And resuming the spirit of Ambition, which is so natural to't, and gives it so much trouble, shall presume again to conspire against the Peace of *Christendom*, and against the Liberty of those Princes.

And it seems to me, that the Confederation now on foot between the King and other Princes, who joyn with him to procure a just and sure Peace to the rest of *Christendome*, hath all the necessary Conditions to form and maintain that fair Union and perfect Correspondency, which we would oppose to that which unites and conjoyns th' House of *Austria*, and its Dependences. 'Tis what, I pretend to make appear in the following Discourse, and in examining the Nature and the Conditions of the most famous Leagues, which *Christendom* hath seen for the two last Ages, and in discovering the Defects and Weaknesses where they have failed, and which have been the Means of their Dissolution and Ruine.

To discourse then of the Matter, I say, That although there are two sorts of Leagues, or that they may be considered under two different Considerations, and under two distinct Functions; Both of them have need of the same Supports for their Establishment, and of the same Cares for their Duration. There are some Leagues which, according to the first Intention of them that made them, have no visible Action in them, nor Motion, nor Life, that is sensible, which properly signifie no more than to secure from apprehended Motions of War, and t'impede turbulent Princes from making of Troubles; As Banks stop the Sea from over-flowing, and restrain th' Invasions and Spoils which otherwise it would make. Other Leagues are all in Motion, and the first Idea under which they're projected, is to serve for Remedies against th' Evils which press, and not against them which are feared; To repel the Tempests which break forth, and not to cherish the Calms that reign. I will give you of both some Examples, which shall be the Foundations of our Reasonings, and may render th' Instructions to be drawn from it more easie and sensible. In the time of *Lawrence of Medicis*, the greatest Politician of his Age, a League was formed and flourished, and many other Princes and States of that Country associated to conserve the publick Peace, and t'Arm unanimously against him that should first disturb it, and break that sweet Harmony of the People, which made *Italy* happy.

The League had aspect chiefly upon the *Venetians*, who being then the most powerful of all the Princes of *Italy*, were esteemed also the most ambitious, and it may be for that reason onely, that they were the strongest; And that they did not believe; That the Moderation of Desires, accompani'd willingly with Great Forces, nor that Sobriety could b' observed in the Temptation of Abundance.

But

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But the Cement of that League being the wisdom of *Laurence of Medicis*, and that it wanted somewhat of more strength and duration for its subsistence; It hapned, that it fell by the death of *Laurence*, and that *Lodowick Sforza* was the first that broke off from it to gain the State of *Milan* from his Nephew, and which opened the Gate by which the *French* entred *Italy*, and after them the *Spaniards*, and the *Germans*. It hapned also, as by a just Judgment from God, That th'Usurpator of the State of his Nephew, and the Perturbator of the Peace of his Country, saw himself stripped of that State, and banished his Country, to pass the rest of his days, and die a Prisoner in a Forein Country. That which was to be desired to complete that League, and which made it break, was the want of a real and effective great Power to support the weak Pieces of it, which should not have been subject to yielding by death, nor of falling by disgrace, and might serve t'all of them for a Haven in time of Tempest, and for Resurrection in case of Misfortune.

But in th'Etablissement of durable Leagues, and in the collection of Pieces that compose it for duration; 'Tis not sufficient, that a great Power be conjoyned, unless the Motions of that Power be Moderate, and have the General Good of the League for its End, to which it serves for Chief and Centre. Otherwise, if that Superiour Power do determine the Ruine of others, and aim at doing Its business, and not theirs, they will quickly sever, and so soon as the great Evil they feared is over, and that the Torrent which gave them trouble is stopped, they will withdraw their Contributions, and no longer furnish Materials, nor lend their Arms to constitute a Society, which might in time prove fatal unto them. Let Examples explain our Meaning.

When th'Heretic of *Luther* had taken root in *Germany*, and stretched its Branches almost over all the North, a League was formed at *Smalchalde* against *Charls* the Fifth, of the greatest part of the Princes and States that had embraced their new Sect; Th'Emperour was constrained to form another League to this, and t' implore th'aid of Catholique Princes in an occasion, where th'Antient Religion had cause to fear all that could issue of sad and tragical, from the fury and zeal of the new Sects; Some Catholique Princes refused to Joyn, as the *Venetians*; Others did Engage, whereof the most considerable, and who sent the fairest and greatest Army, was th' *Holy Father*; Th'Emperour with this Supply, which was useful, and with his Virtue and ordinary Fortune, got the better of th'Associated Protestants, and had forced his Victory further into *Germany*, if the Pope, who knew, that *Charls* aimed not at the Heretiques, but at the Rebels of th'Empire, had not staid his course, and withdrawn his Forces, whereby th'Emperour was disappointed, and stood as *Immoveable* in the pursute of his designs, as a Ship, when the Wind suddenly abates, and is surprized with a Calm.

Two things are here to b'observed, which establish and confirm the

the Propositions propos'd, Th'one, That the Protestant League fell by the first Blow it receiv'd, without rising again, and one lost Battel made it vanish into smoke; for the first Reason given, and because it wanted some great Power that might have rallied the scattered Forces; That might have rais'd new Men, and have drawn them together to fight their Enemies, and for other Trials of Fortune. And indeed, to speak truly of the thing, 'Tis the same with petty Princes, who make a League against a more powerful Prince, as with a Society of Gamblers, wh' are not rich, and having made a Stock, to which every one contributed all the Money h' had, so soon as that Money is lost, are out of countenance, and are constrained to break up company, and to retire with their loss; In like manner, th'others setting a foot at first all their Forces, and straining to their uttermost, being defeated, are without recovery, and disband immediately, if some great Power do not interpose to rally them. W' have also seen the same thing happen to the Protestant League, which took its beginning from th'incident Troubles between the Pretenders to the Succession of *Cleves*, and which dissolved upon th' occasion of th'Election of the Count Palatine to the Kingdom of *Bohemia*; The first great Blow that was given became mortal to't; And it was so astonish'd at the loss of the Battel of *Prague*, that it could never recover its strength again; And all that the King of *Denmark*, *Halberstat*, and *Mansfielt* have since done, to re-inforce that Party, have serv'd onely to make it languish the longer, and resembled the precious Waters are given to desperate sick persons, which make th'Heart a little to recover, and prolong the life some few h'ours, but restore not health, and prevent not death.

Th'other thing to be consider'd in the Catholique League, which subdued the Protestants, is, That it held indeed of great Powers, and that it had for Foundation and Ligament a great Emperour, who made th' Eagles of th'Empire fly higher than they'd done since *Charlemain's* time. But being more Ambitious than Powerful, He carried not falsly that Embleme which discovered th'Immensity of his Desires,

Never to stop, but to pass always further.

For without respect to the good of his Confederates, He studi'd onely his Particular profit; That was the cause, as hath been observ'd, that they retir'd from the League. The same Emperor endeavour'd, after the re-establishment of *Sforces* in the State of *Milan*, to form in *Italy* another League of the first sort, under pretence of employing it against the *French* irruptions that should undertake to trouble their Peace, and to draw thither to raise Quarrels; or to make use of them against the *Turk*, if his Fleets assaulted the States of any of the Confederates, and Infested their Shoars. But th'*Italians* were as Cautious as he was subtil, and dis-

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covering th' Hook he did cast into so specious a Bit, They would not be taken with it. For it was very visible to them, That th'Emperour aimed from thence to confirm his Power in *Italy*, which the *French* alone were able to shake; And in holding the *Turk* at Bay, to labour with more ease and less opposition the ruine of *Christians*. The *Germans* were not so well advised and wise, when they formed that League of *Suaube*, which served so long to do th' Affairs of th' House of *Austria*, and t'advance their Greatness, under colour of suppressing the Rebels of th' Empire, and the Disturbers of the Peace of *Germany*; It had not staid there, and th' Ill which it did, believing to do well, had not so soon ceased, if it had not been dissipated by th' Endeavours of *Francis* the First, and by th' Industry and Eloquence of *Sir of Langey*, who made the *Dutch* to comprehend th' *Austrian* Artifices, and laid open the Stratagems that were on foot by that Family to destroy them.

In the precedent Discourse, I've given you the platform of that League, which *Philip* the Second endeavoured to make with the *Pope* and with the *Venetians*, after that *Selim* the Second had assaulted *Cyprus*, and that the noise of th' *Ottoman's* Arms, with the consternation and fear of them, had flown about *Italy*. We've also there seen the Resistance made by the *Pope* and the *Venetians*, to the proposals of that Prince, which breathed onely his particular Interest. And we shall see in the Third Part the small satisfaction that the *Venetians* drew from that League, which was concluded with him, and that at last they were constrained to make a separate Accord with the *Turk*, and without the privity of *Philip*, as many years before they'd been obliged to buy their peace of *Soliman*, after that the proceedings of *Charls* the Fifth, with whom they were in League, gave them occasion to know, That they could not continue the War in so ill Company, and in so unfaithful a Society, without running th'hazard of Ruine. It hath not been dangerous onely to make Leagues with *Charls* the Fifth, and with *Philip* his Son; Th' Evil came from an higher Line, and the Corruption hath a higher Spring; *Ferdinand* of *Arragon* their Grandfather transmitted unto them with his Blood, that too much interess'd Inclination; As he was one of them who broke the League of *Cambray*, to the prejudice of *Lewis* the Twelfth, who had so Legally observed it; And the League he made at *Blois* was to strip the King of *Naples* his Kinsman, of his Inheritance, and for the full Conquest of his Kingdom. And after he had gained by the Valour of the Great Captain, what did belong t' his Partition; he caused us to be vexed, and made studied Quarrels to take away the Partition that did belong to us; By th' Invincible Habit th' House of *Austria* hath acquired not t'observe, what it hath promised; And from their subtil Art to dispose the Leagues where it Enters, to its particular Ends, without respect to the Good of th' other Confederates. In that of *Germany*, which subsisted under the name of *Catholique*; In apparence, it avoided the direction of that

that Army to abate the Jealousie of the Confederates, and that the Forces of that League were put into th' hands of the Duke of *Bavaria*, a Prince of another House, and under the Count of *Tilly*, a Lieutenant General, which depended upon him. But in this there was but a Transposition of Colours, whilst the Things were the same; And th' Emperour gained that by a by-way, which he could not obtain by a straight; whilst the Forces of that League held the Protestant Arms at a Bay, and hindered all that they could undertake against the Catholics; He resolved to raise others in his own Name, and under General *Wallestine*, that had dependency and relation onely upon himself; Th' Emperor with these Forces, which made themselves formidable and prodigious by th' inventions of Quarters, which this great General gave to th' Officers to make their Levies, began to give the Law to all *Germany*, and threatned all that was independent and free; And when th' Affair of *Mantoua* hapned, it appeared then certainly to the Catholics, that it was not so much to the Religion of the Protestants that th' Emperor made War, as to their Estates; And the Peace he made with the King of *Denmark*, to intend th' oppression of the Duke of *Mantoua*, made them understand, That if the progress of his Arms was not stopped, Catholics and Protestants should be concerned in the same Mischiefs; And that they had not begun to act by the ruine of th' one, but for to finish, by the ruine of th' others. The descent then into *Italy* of th' Emperours best Forces, under the Conduct of *Cosalto*, and the condition *Germany* found it self in from thence to be discharged of that burthen of Soldiers which oppressed it, gave courage to the Duke of *Bavaria* and his Party, to speak high at the Diet of *Ratisbon*, in favour of the *German* Liberty, and then to demand the Degradation of *Wallestein*, who was the Flayl, and the most proper Instrument th' Emperour could have found to impose servitude on *Germany*. The *Spaniards* also, to whom the fierce and indocile humour of *Wallestein* was odious, and who looked upon him as the greatest Obstacle they could have encountred upon the way they had made plain, for the re-uniting of th' Empire to their Branch, thrust stoutly at the Wheel the Duke of *Bavaria* had set a going. The Protestants on th' other side, who had been plundered, or believed that they should be plundered, and to whom th' exorbitant Contributions, which *Wallestein* had raised on their Estates, were as fore-runners and presages of their approaching ruine, Treated with the King of *Sweden* to come to the relief of their dying Liberty, and to make use of the Conjunction of the disarming of *Wallestein*, and of the Licensing of his Troops, who demanded but safe retreat and protection against the Commissions which were issued to enquire of the Spoils his Soldiers had committed upon the Lands of th' Empire. And so the Catholic Princes breathed away the fear th' House of *Austria* gave them, and were assaulted with a greater and more dangerous fear, raised from the *Swedish* Victories. But if that Evil had not preceded, the Remedy had not followed; And if the Designs of that

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House had been moderate, th' Arms of that Prince had never entred into *Germany*, and that House had not tried the same Lot it made others suffer.

Asto the League made between the King of *Suede*, and the Protestants who called him to their Relief, It cannot truly be said, that the King of *Suede* was one of the great Powers, whereof we speak, if they are considered by the fertility and riches of their Country, By the Multitude of their Subjects, and by other Advantages, which are rather fastned to the Domination, than to the Person of Princes. But this Prince had such admirable Conditions in his Person, and such a collection of natural and acquired Virtues, that he quickly put himself into the posture of being that great Power, whereunto the Powers of the League were subaltern and dependent. At first they cast their eyes upon him through Jealousie had of their Countrymen, and gave not th' Honour t' one of their Nation, but made the King of *Suede* chief of the League; Or they thought, it may be, none of courage and understanding enough to bear the weight of that War; And judged also, That the King of *Suede* being in some sort under their pay, they might dispose of him as they pleased, and might retain him justly to the necessary Considerations, for the suppressing of th' Ambitious Designs of th' Emperour, and to restore to th' Empire its lost Peace, and its antient Privileges. But they were not well advised; for that Prince was so brave, and so full of courage, that he could not act such a person; And as a Torrent is not to be stopped at pleasure, which the force of dissolved Snows forceth from a Mountain, nor a great Fire easily put out, which the Wind blows; and is fastned t' a great quantity of combustible Matters; So this Prince rendred himself so powerful and so formidable, by the Victories which crowded upon him; For his Conquests were th' Adamants which drew others unto them; that many of the Confederates before his death had him in great jealousy. But let's leave there those Apprehensions, the suspicion of an Evil which did not happen, to speak of that which concerns us. 'Tis easie to judge by what hath been said, That the League which is now on foot between us and our Confederates, hath all necessary Conditions for Continuation of the War, so long as it may be useful, and to make the Peace that must determine it Sacred and Inviolable. This great Power, whereof it hath been spoken, is there to be found, which hath not onely the right of Birth before all other Powers of *Christendom*, by th' Antiquity of its Original, but hath it also by the greatness of its Forces, and by 'n abundance of Mony and Men, which resembles not to the Waters of Cisterns, which are easily drawn off, but to them that issue from living Springs, which refresh and renew themselves as they run off. This Truth is so certain, and of an Experience so general and so confirmed, that to b' ignorant of it is not to be of the world, or to know any thing of what passeth in it. 'Tis, not to know what w^e have done in *Italy* in favour of the Duke of *Mantova*; And not t' have understood, that notwithstanding the fearful difficulties

culties which accompani'd that War; The Desolation which the Plague and Famine had made in our Armies, and the Disgraces hapned t' our Allies by their ill fortune, or by their fault; We forced *Germany*, *Spain*, and *Savoy* associated, to restore what they had usurped, and to re-establish the Duke of *Mantova* and the *Grisons* in their Estates and Garisons; 'Tis to b' ignorant what the King did for the *Swedish* Party, and for his Confederates, since the Battel of *Norlinghen*; What he daily doth in *Germany*, in the *Low-Countries*, in *Italy*, and in *Spain*; The Money and Men which he sent thither, and the number of his Armies by Sea and by Land, which filled our Enemies with fear, and all *Europe* with astonishment.

As to the second Condition, The Moderation of Desires, and that fair Temperance, which puts a Bridle into the mouth of Ambition, and ties up Courage, which th' *Heroes* are more troubled t' observe, than to defeat Armies, and to tame Monsters. It cannot also be denied, that 'tis the more admirable in the Kings Soul, that having all the Lights which enlighten the Cabinet, and all Qualities that are active in the Field, He hath besides these, the Forces of a great Kingdom to put them in Motion; He hath all that's necessary for Invading, and for Usurping, if he did not believe, That 'tis more Magnanimous and more Glorious, to conserve and to defend; Somewhat more divine t' exercise Justice, than to make Conquests.

I have sowed so many proofs of this Truth in so many places of this Book, that I conceive it a superfluous thing to repeat them, and re-point to the eye of the Reader the same Figures. However, I do beseech him to remember, that in the long and tragical actions, which vex *Christendom*, the King never began t' any person, and that he stirred not, nor engaged, but to relieve his Friends, which were oppressed, and t' abate the Designs which would have consumed their Estates. That he never took Arms till he had tried the ways of sweetness, and of good Endeavours; That before he passed th' *Alps* for the delivery of *Casal*, which *Gonsailes* had besieged, he sent into *Spain*; He caus'd Endeavours to b' used at *Vienna*; He prevailed with the Pope t' interpose his Authority t' oblige the *Spaniards* to retire, and with honour, their Arms from *Montferrat*; As before the beginning of the War he commanded a Treaty with the Duke of *Savoy* by several Agents, and with most advantageous Offers, that could be desired, if he could admit of equitable ones, to compose civilly the differences h' had with the Duke of *Mantova*; And after h' had rais'd the Siege of *Casal* in forcing th' *Alps*, and had given peace to the *Spaniards*, which was so necessary for them; He sent to *Vienna* t' hinder them from being perjured, and to divert the Seeds of a second War, in causing to be delivered to the Duke of *Mantova* th' Investitures promised by the Peace of *Susa*.

As to *Germany*, all the world knows that the King did not for present interpose in the Troubles that have vexed them; but t' appease them; And that in the Quarel of th' Emperour and the Count *Palatine* for the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, he sent a famous Embassage to th' In-

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th'Intercessed Princes to determine it friendly, and caused a Peace to be concluded at *Ulms*, as hath been already said, which re-established th' Affairs of th' Empire in the Conditions they ought to be, and in the Temper, if it had been observed, which is assigned them by their Constitutions. Since that time th' Affairs of th' Empire being raised to a prodigious Success, and the King observing, that the Treaties of *Ratisbon* and of *Cairasque* had not shut up all the Winds, which might trouble the third time the Tranquillity of *Italy*, and carry the Storm further, if th' House of *Austria* had nothing to do 'n *Germany*. He caused a Treaty to be made with the King of *Swede*, whom the Protestants had called into *Germany*, and furnished him with some Money, to give him the better means to give Employment and Exercise to that House, that it might no longer think of giving trouble t'his Allies, nor t' himself in his Kingdom. To conclude, h' had never declared a War to *Spain*, if the *Spaniard* had not commanded th' Elector of *Treves* to be taken away, wh' had put himself into the King's protection, and had provided for his safety by his Intervention.

In the second place, t' assure the world that the King's Arms are not mercenary, nor moved by the spirit of Particular Interest, let the last Treaty be remembered which he made with the Duke of *Cleves*, and the generosity, wherewith he renounced, in favour of the Duke, one of the Justest Conquests which could arise from the right of War. Be't remembered, how freely h' abandoned by the Treaty of *Cairasque* almost all *Savoy*, and a part of *Piedmont*, which h' had lawfully gained, to cause *Mantoua* to be rendred, which was but a coloured Usurpation, and the Country of the *Grisons*, which was an Usurpation without colour. That if it appears the King had some Garisons of th' Empire in his hands, the number whereof is very small, or some others of his Allies in *Italy*, It must be considered, that 'tis onely to keep them for the Owners, wh' are not able to defend them, which to the King is matter onely of great Expence; or to free his Frontiers from the Jealousie they would receive from them, if they fell into th' hands of his Enemies; or to serve for a Retreat or safety t'his Armies, when they're obliged to march far for the good of the common Cause; Or lastly, to sacrifice them to the good of the same Cause, and to the re-establishment of his stript Friends in the Treaty of a General Peace.

That if *Pignevol* remain in the King's power after the Wars of *Italy*, which have preceded the Peace of *Cairasque*; And if that place seems to be the recompense of so many thousands of the Kings dead Subjects, and of so many millions of Money, spent for the Liberty of that Country; 'Tis a thing, in my opinion, which cannot reasonably be reproached unto him, nor envied; since he doth not keep it as a Conquest, but as an Acquisition, and that he hath bought it with the good-will of him, wh' had power to sell it; since it was not done so much to serve for Rampart t'his Kingdom, and to secure the Frontiers, as t'have a free Entry int' *Italy*, and to make the more haste to its Relief, when it should b' assaulted. Let the Disinterest and Magnanimity

Magnanimity be considered, which have appeared in all the Treaties on the Kings part made in *Germany*, since that which *Sir* of *Charnasé* made at *Beerwalde*; And that which *Sir* of *Avaux* renewed the last year at *Hambrough*. Let the sweetness and equity of the Conditions be considered, wherewith he received into protection th' *Elect*or of *Treves*, as may be seen in the Treaties made with him by the *Sirs* of *St. Chaumont* and of *Saludie*; Let the cares had of the *Swedish* Interest be considered, and th' effective and real Acknowledgments which the *Swedish* King always exhorted His Confederates to pay the King, as may be justifi'd by the Orations which *Sir* of *Fenquiteres* made to th' Assembly of *Hailbrun* and *Franckford*. Let Consequences at last be drawn out of the like Actions from the Kings Promises to the Princes of *Italy*, concerning the places h' holds in *Piedmont*, and which he confirms in this manner, in the third Article of the Treaty he made with *Sirs* the Princes of *Savoy*. That the King newly ratifies the Declarations which have been made by his Ambassadors in divers Occasions, and by the Letters his Majesty hath written to the Pope, and to the Republique of *Venice*, upon the restitution of the Places which his Majesty holds in *Piedmont*, since the death of the late *Sir* *Victor* of *Amedcé*; Provided, that such Places as are held by the Spaniards his Enemies, be reciprocally restored, and that *Sir* the Duke of *Savoy* remain certainly the Master of them, under the Tutition and Regency of *Madame*. Let the consequence of this, I say, be taken into consideration, and it will appear, that our Confederates may take a full and entire confidence in this Conduct; And that the Counsellour of th' *Elect*or of *Mayence*, above all question a very able Man, in the Dyer held some months past at *Mayence*, believing to decipher the Kings Designs re-establish himself in *Germany*, deviated from the Truth, though it was by way of probability, and that he discovered effectively the Means, wherewith he might do it, if he had had the Will.

Before this Discourse ended, the Reader is to b' advised, That I had finished two Treaties which are of the Subject I handle in these two Books; Th' one of the Nature of Equivocations; Th' other, of the force of Opinions, which are of great Importance for Ministers of State to know. But inasmuch that this Book is already too long, and that these two Treaties may enter commodiously into the Third Part, I have believed it was most convenient to place them there.

End of the Second Book.



O F
The pretended Monarchy
O F
Th' House of AUSTRIA.

Third BOOK.

First Discourse.

That the true Exercise of the Magnanimity of a Prince Consists in Securing his Countrey from Civil Wars, and in Diverting of Forein Wars ; That the King hath Admirably Prospered in these two Things.

IS certain, That the true exercise of the Magnanimity of a Prince, and the Just handling of his Arms, Consists onely in these two things, Th' one, in quieting of his Countrey, when it is agitated, and in Curting up the Roots, and stopping of the Springs of the Troubles, which may there arise ; Th' other in defeating th' Enterprizes, which strangers may set on foot against him, or his Allies, and in Confining Ambition, within the Bounds of Justice : When He hath gained these two Ends, and that these great Conclusions have prospered with him ; He may say, that nothing is wanting to his glory ; That his Life hath nothing more in desire to become th' Example of Princes and th' Admiration of the people ; And such a prosperity is th' ultimate proof of the Love of Heaven, and the most wonderful effect that Virtue can produce.

'Tis not truly to be denied, but that the Kings Reign is very observable

servable by these two wonders ; That h' hath effaced the glory of the fairest precedent Reigns, and hath not left to subsequent Generations, Matter for Equality, nor any thing to Mow, the whole Crop being carried away ; As to the first point, which respects th'inside of the Countrey, and th'obedience which Subjects owe their Prince, who knows not that it was so loose amongst us, That very often it was entirely divolved into th' *Hugonots*, and that it was not rendred so Pure or so Neat, as it ought t' have been, from the greatest part of Catholiques ? *France* was a horrid Spectacle, and a Monstrous Confusion ; for in the midst of the State, another State was to be seen, where a confirmed Faction did Reign, which was maintained at the Charges of the Prince, and became Rich by his Wealth ; To whom leaving places of Security, It was a Tacit Declaration to the world, that their faith, which ought to b' as firm and Immoveable, as the Poles of Heaven, and Foundations of th'Earth, was doubted and suspected ; Where there was n' other discourse than of Assemblies, of Circles, of Abreges of Circles, of Chiefs of Parties, and of the like Denominations of ill Augury, which were th' Evidences of a present and future revolt. How just a thing then, and how necessary was it, that such a Faction should be suppressed, and that they wh' had a common Birth, and drew the same Air, and rested under the cares of the same Prince, and under the Protection of the same Laws, should be reduced t' equal Subjection, and Pay a common Obedience to the Power that Protected them ? If Question be made of this, Let the same Faction now Live, and the same Insurrections and Violences Assault us.

But as this was very Just, so it was very Difficult ; And if it were th' Effect of an ordinary Address, and of a Mean force to destroy so bold and opinionate a Rebellion, and to Remit to their Natural places, the parts torn from their Head and from the rest of the Body, as were some of this Nation ; *Philip the second* and his Successors have made Experiment of it, in the Defection of the *Low Countreys*. And truly a Party, as that of th' *Hugonots*, Rooted in so many places of this Kingdome ; Animated to its Defence by Religion, the most Violent and undaunted Morive that can provoke the Spirit of Man ; Proud and fierce, not only by the Consideration of Effective Advantages, and present Forces, but also by the Memory of the Losses from which it was relieved, and of the Weaknesse from which it was Restored ; A Party, I say, such as that, strengthened with three hundred places, whereof some were very strong ; Aided by many Chiefs of Repute and Merit, and supported by a great Foreign Power, was visibly Invincible.

In effect, It could not have been overcome, but by such a Warlike Prince as ours, wh' had the Courage t' undertake all that was not Impossible, if it was necessary ; The Prudence to Conduct that great Design, and to disunite them, whom it had not been safe t' have Assaulted, Joyned and united ; T' apply gentl Remedies, where vio-

Book II. lent had been dangerous, and to Move by perswasion and Adresse, where it was difficult to prevail by force, and Constraint ; wh' had resolution to force the businesse to the Wall, and not to stop on th' Half way, as it had been often done, nor to retire by reason of the length of Time, or Difficulty of the Work, nor for the secret Contradictions of his Counsellors, nor for th' open Oppositions his Enemies would make him, nor for the Resistance He might Encounter in th' Elements, nor for the contrary Alterations, the stars might raise against Him ; Wh' had a strong Piety t' attract the favour of Heaven upon his Enterprizes, and t' Invite them to descend upon his Armies, without which, ali the powers of Men are Impotent, and all their Designs Barren. To declare now, what Fruits we've gathered from the Ruine of this Party, and what the benefit of them shall be, which are yet unripe, and cannot long be ripening. No person can truly doubt, but that the first fruits are very great, unless it be thought a small thing, That the King hath recovered this Party to the Sovereignty, which his Father could not leave him, and his Predecessors had lost ; That He is become Master of all his Subjects, and Possessor of all his Kingdome ; That his Countrey, which division rendred weak and open to many Injuries, hath reassumed its forces, and repaired its breaches, by th' Union and Concord of its Inhabitants ; That the most culpable have no places of Refuge for their faults, nor the most discontented any Retrait, where they may Meditate and form Rebellions in safety ; That by this, the King, in Imitation of God, hath drawn Good from Evill, and so strongly reunited them t' his service who had given him Troubles ; that they've since laboured profitably in his Designs, and Aided Joyntly with the rest of his Subjects to gain him Victories, and to prepare Triumphs for him ; That by this General and profound peace, which h' hath established in his Kingdome, H' hath been more safe and free to march abroad, to quench the fire that burnt his Allies, and to break th' Irons were forged for Italy, and for Germany.

As to the good, which the future Time doth provide for us, as one of th' Happy Consequences of the suppression of th' *Hugonot* party, We cannot indeed Relish it sufficiently, whilst the Miseries of the Want do afflict us, and Peace onely can make us truly sensible of it. 'Tis then we shall know by Experience that the King hath no otherwise done in the Levy of Moneys, and in the subventions, which the necessity of his Affairs forced him to draw from his people, but as a good Father of a Family, who doth not demolish any part of his House, but to make it better than it was, and of a fairer Structure ; The bounties wherewith he desires, though to this day he cannot perform it, to gratifie his Subjects, Resemble to certain Rivers, which being hid for some time in th' Earth, break not out, but never to return, and to Run alwaies upon its surface. The time of this favourable Change, and of this profitable Revolution, is very near ; The Clemency of God is ready to disarm his Justice, and to take out of her

her hands the Flayl wherewith h' hath beaten us for so many years. Book III.
 All the causes of our Expence cease with the War; Peace, which never comes into the World, but Crowned with Abundance, and hands full of Riches, will issue shortly from the midst of this Confusion, and from the Chaos, wherein *Christendome* is plunged. It shall not be a Peace of Glafs, as many others which have been seen, but a Peace of Diamond, which shall have beauty and solidiry; And the foundations, which the King makes and layes in all places, shall be so deep and large, so entire and sound, that of a long time, a fault is not to be feared.

It hath not failed truly on this part, but that It had been Accomplished; And the Moneys He hath advanced, and the things h' hath quitted upon that Accompt are a sufficient Evidence to *Christendome*, that nothing is so dear to him as the Repose of it. The passion h' hath for Peace, will Triumph at last over th' Inclination of th' House of *Austria* for War: Though it cannot be stronger or more obstinate than it hath of late appeared; 'Tis not nevertheless Invincible, and the great Engine that sustained it, whose wheel was even in Motion in this Countrey, being stopped, and th' Hopes, which do yet Nourish and give it a little Life, which is *Germany*, being of short Continuance, It must of Necessity shortly fall and be destroyed. And though the King had Power and Means t' overcome, and to make more Conquests than that House hath t' Engage and Lose; He never had a greater desire to lay down Arms than at this time, and th' Higher he is in Prosperity, the Readier to descend for the General Good, and the stronger and more Impetuous the Current is of his Victories, the more he's disposed to stop it for publique benefit. By virtue of his Magnanimity, he will do more than all the forces of his Enemies can constrain him to do, and will render Generously, what will b' Impossible to take from him. Nevertheless t' induce the *German* Circles to furnish them with Money to Compel us t' hearken to Peace, whereunto by their Report w' are adverse, they fail not to publish in all places, That the Treaty of *Hamborough* was not staid by them, nor the Peace of *Christendome*. But the contrary is so fully declared in *Germany*, The King of *Denmark* hath so cleerly understood it, and th' Ambassadors of Neutral Princes Resident in the Court of the King of *Hungary*, have expressed it in such certain and positive Terms, that there's not a Person, wh' hath not discovered the Deceit and the Design.

As to the second point; 'tis certainly much advanced, if not effected, and all their Apparences will prove false; for the King by th' Aids of his Confederates, will destroy in the Souls of the Princes of th' House of *Austria*, and especially in that of the *Spaniards* where its principal Seat is, the Design of th' Universal Monarchy, whereof they're Accused, and that Eminent Crime imputed to them, which hath been the Spring of so many Troubles and Disorders. And 'tis that, which will make the Reign of the King, Remarkable and Glo-

Book III. rious above the Reigns of all his Predecessors, and will be the Cause, that *Christenome* have an Immortal Obligation to him for hindering that Proud *Houfe*, that had Devoured it in Thought, t' Advance one pace towards that End, or to take any Measure thereof that hath not been Broken. But that no Person may suppose that I d' Offer at this by Chance, and that speaking of the design of this pretended Monarchy, I make a Monster of my Self in the Contest; I am resolved here to Lay out some Pieces, and to give you a Part of the Platform framed in *Spain*, as well as it hath been Understood; others may make up what shall be wanting to Compleat the Discovery, and Finish the Painting, whereof you shall receive now only the first Draught. I will take this Design from its first Original, and from the most Concealed Spring, and Continue it to the Troubles of *Bohemia*, where it appeared most Evidently, and broke out with greater Light, Noise, and Violence, than it had done before; for tis true, That the first Motion of Defection or Revolt, call it what you please, raised in the Minds of the *Bohemians* against th' House of *Austria*, and the first Thoughts they had to withdraw themselves from that Power, and to submit t' another Yoak, proceeded from the fear they had to fall in Time under the *Spanish* Domination. The Love of Liberty, wherewith the Northern people are more taken than any people of the World, made them Apprehend the Death of their Liberty, wounded in many places by a Power, which alwayes holds Strangers, by such Charms, as they cannot break; And is never Confident of their Faith, but by th' Impotency wherein they are Cast, not to Rebel.

On th' other side, the Zeal of Religion, which is equally Violent, whether Good or Bad, in all them that have it, suffered them not to make a Representation of that severe Tribunal without horroir and despair, which in permitting them but one Religion, hath Sword and Fire to Root up and to Destroy all others. From these two undaunted Passions did Grow and Bud, as the Fruits of that Seed, and the Bows of that Tree, that memorable Rising, which they made against th' Emperour *Ferdinand*, and their fatal Election to the Kingdome of *Bohemia*, which they fixed in the Person of *Frederick Count Palatine*. It shall be made t' appear at th' End of this Book by Authentique proofs, That this Judgement of the *Bohemians* was not Vain, nor their fear Panique; And that the *Spaniards* had of a long time forged that Project, That they did daily lay the Foundations, and brought Materials to Continue it, and to Cherish it to the Rearing. As to what is of the sequel of this Defection, which is not yet Finished, and the Troubles it hath caused in *Europe*, which are not yet Ceased, It hath been spoken of in many places of this Work, and it shall more fully be spoken of in the Third Part, where I hope to make t' appear, That whether th' History b' Ancient or Modern, Theres not a Mapp to be found, where more

more Rapid and more changeable Passions are to be seen from Men, more sudden and unexpected Stroaks from Fortune, and more famous Occurrences, and of greater Instruction for Princes than those that hapned in th' Affairs of *Germany*. Book III.

Before th' handling of this important Matter, and Entering into so fair a Field, I cannot hold from Speaking a few Words of the Deportments of a part of them whom th' House of *Austria* employ to make War, and of the wayes they take t' assure their Conquests. These men then whom we've often in hand, and from whom w' have been sometimes Troubled to defend our Frontiers, Are a certain race of Men, in whom the Vicinity and Commerce of the *Turks*, whereof their Troops are made up, have made lose all Sense of Humanity, and of Religion; And that th' Impunity of their Crimes, which they received instead of Pay, had begot an Invincible habit in th' Exercise of all manner of Cruelties, and in Committing all sorts of Sacrileges. The Laws of Civilized War, which the *Marshall* of *Brisac* rendered heretofore so famous in *Italy*, and which were more Indulgent and Favourable to th' Enemies Country, than the Laws that are now Executed in a Friends Country, are to them a Subject, whereof they've not so much as heard; They never enter int' a Country, but the Sword in one hand, and Torch in th' other; They make the Fire to Consume, what the Sword cannot Destroy; They spare Sacred things no more than Profane; The Religious Women, and such as are not, are th' Equal Object of their Brutality; And their Pleasure would not be Compleat, if Murder did not succeed Rape; And if after Satisfaction given to what is most Indocile, and most Disordered in the Concupiscible part, they did not surfeit also with horrible Punishments, and by barbarous Deaths, of what is most Inhuman and most Savage in th' Irascible part: I say nothing, but what Experience confirms, and whereof *Lorraine* and other Countries have seen th' Examples, wh' are at this day th' Astonishment of all Nations, and for the future shall be the Reproach of our Age.

As to them, in whose favour these Tragical and sad Conquests are made, 'Tis certain, That if they beat down or destroy any thing of a Country, 'Tis so far from being their Design; as 'tis of a Lawfull Prince, to Repair the Ruins to his Power, and to Re-build in a more Magnificent and Stately manner than it was before; That they would lay it flat to the Foot and Earth; That if they could, they would pull up Foundations; That they would plow up th' Earth, and sow Salt in it; That no Impressions of their first Government might be seen, nor one single Draught of its Ancient form; And their Method t' Establish themselves, and to give Root to their Domination, is to take off all high Heads, till none are left, but what are Humble and Low; And t' Esteem the Courage, and th' Understanding of th' Inhabitants, for Treasonable Crimes, and t' hold all them Rebels, wh' have Qualities capable of Rebellion;

To

Book III. To Destroy or to Transport them into other Countries, where they shall raise no Fears, and where they shall not provoke so tender a Jealousie, and so delicate a Distrust as theirs. And insomuch, that they well know, that many Generations must pass, and many Ages slide away, before the Conquered people forgetting their first Domination under which they Lived, b^e Accustomed to the New, and that forced Obedience, and such as is not in their power to Refuse, agrees better with their Proud and Imperious Humour, than Voluntary Obedience, which may be lost, as often as Subjects change their Affections, and gain New Masters; They secure them by Garrisons and Colonies, and by the Power of Governments and Magistrates, which they put into th^e Hands of their Country-men, with Exclusion to strangers, and by that means are Punished for the Vices of their Birth, and make Repentance for Sins, whereof they are not Guilty.

'Tis a Picture, whose Touches are not from my Pencil or Fancy, but which hath been borrowed from their Relations, and from their Histories, and whereof *Italy*, th^e *Indies*, and other Countries are yet the True and Indubitable Originals. And 'tis the Desolation the King would prevent, before it grow Dangerous, and bear even upon the Heart of his Affairs; 'Tis the Tempest that he would allay before it break forth; 'Tis the true cause of the Relief, he requires from his People, and the Reason that compells him to set on foot that hard and sad Law of Conservation, which permits the Diversion and Aversion of the greater, by the lesser Evils.

Second Discourse.

Of the Spring of the Design of the pretended Monarchy of th^e House of Austria: some Advantages, which th^e Imperial Dignity brings with it above th^e other Secular Dignities of Christendome.

F*erdinand of Arragon*, one of the Greatest Politicians of his Time, and who had alwayes Vaster Thoughts than Power, was the Person that began to Conceive the design of the Monarchy hath been spoken of, and did lay the first Foundation, in giving in Marriage his Daughter and Heir, *Jane*, to th^e Arch-Duke *Philip*, Son of *Maximilian* th^e *Emperour*. His Marriage with *Isabella* of *Castile*, had United, and as it were Grafted int^o his House all the Countries of *Spain*, with Exception to the Kingdome of *Granada*, whereof after a Ten years War, and by the Courage of *Ferrant* of *Gonsalve*, h^e became Master, and carried away the Sirname of *Catholique*, which he hath Left t^o his Posterity. The same Success in Arms, and the Vertue of the same Captain gained him from us the Kingdome of *Naples*, recovered from the Kings of *Naples* his Kinsmen;

Kinsmen; And rejoyned in his Person, to the part w^e had allowed him, what w^e had by Conquest kept for our selves. Th^e Interdict, which *Julius the Second* thundered against *Henry King of Navarre* our Ally, gave him Colour, and Furnished him with a pretence t^e usurp that Kingdome. Hazard rather than Reason, or t^e Express it better, a secret disposition of Divine Providence, which inclines sometimes t^e its Ends, above the Reasons of Men, and contrary to th^e Appearance of Things, made him hearken to the Proposals of *Christopher Columna*, for the discovery of the *West-Indies*, and Exposed unt^e him the benefites of the Richest Mines of th^e Earth, and th^e Abundance of the longest Labour of the Sun, since it hath Shined. So that his Daughter brought Great Countries, and Fair Hopes to th^e Arch-Duke her Husband, wh^e Enjoyed from his Mother, the Low-Countries, and the County of *Bourgogne*, above what he was t^e Enjoy from his Father, which was not small or Inconsiderable in *Germany*.

The Conjunction then of th^e Heat and Courage of *Germany*, to the Driness and Prudence of *Spain*, being made, and so many different Countries Collected in one House, As so many Arms Expatriated into diverse places, to surround and straighten the rest of *Christendome*, He laid it for a Ground and Principle of the Doctrine he left t^e his Posterity, to retain alwayes th^e Empire in their Jurisdiction; As the Basis that ought to bear the greatness of their Ambition, and as the Center, where all the Countries, whereof the Conquest was intended, ought to Unite to make the Circle of th^e Absolute Monarchy. This was the first Idea of this great Design, and the Bud from whence he discovered himself; This was the fore-cast of *Ferdinand*, and his sweetest Hopes. And though th^e Ambition of his Son-in-Law gave him much personal Trouble, and was the Disturbance of his Rest, and Torment of his Age; it might b^e Endured with the same sense, That *Agrippina* Mother of *Nero*, did th^e Advice of an Astronomer, who threatned with the Sad and Tragical Entertainment her Son would give her if he came to th^e Empire, Answered; *Let me Dye, provided that he may Reign.*

Lets make a Halt here, that shall not be unprofitable, and Consider before we go on, what the Possession of th^e Empire may Contribute to the design of the Monarchy. 'Tis certain, that a, amongst the secular Dignities of *Christendome*, There's none so High, or whose Light shines so Lively as th^e Imperial; It hath also Extraordinary Means to become great, or to draw where it please, Unjustly or Justly, all the Countries that depend upon it; And th^e House of *Austria* 'th made it appear, since *Charles* the fifth was Elected to that Dignity, and had Fortified the Powers of th^e Empire by the Conjunction of so many gathered or usurped Countries. The most remarkable Means, and which have made most Noise, whereof he and his Successors have made Advantage, or Endeavoured it t^e Extend their Greatness under the shadow of that Dignity, are these.

The

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The first is, the Leagues which they've made or found in *Germany*, and which they've ever had th' Address to fit to their Interests under other Pretences, and to Convert them to their particular Ends under colour of Searching and of Pursuing the good of their Confederates. This Invention hath been one of the Rarest and Subtilest Stratagems of their Policy; And they've scarce ever moved any Wheel that hath produced such great Success; That had so present a Benefit; That hath so long Acted, and so Insensibly as this. By this means they've disposed of Forces that did not belong to them, as of their own; And having not the Fountain in their Power; The Countries of their Friends; They've had nevertheless, the Commodity and use of the Stream, That's to say, of their Powers. All the World well knows how much time they Employed t' Invade and Obstruct the League of *Snaube*, which was not settled, as hath been observed, but to prevent th' Invasions that were in preparation, and to repair the Violences that were Acted in th' Empire. And th' History instructs us sufficiently of the Troubles *Sir of Langey* had, to break the Charm that Bound the Members of that League; To give them a Clear sight of it, and to make them Understand that what was prepared for a Remedy, was become their Poyson, in th' hands of th' Emperour *Charls*, and of *Ferdinand* his Brother; so great a Truth it is, That *France* hath alwayes been the Providential Buckler of *Germany*, and th' Appointed Rampar, to stop the Motions of them, wh' undertake upon its Liberty.

'Tis also a Thing sufficiently known in History, and whereof w' have made Mention in the last Discourse of the second Book, That if th' Emperour had not found Means to form in *Italy* and in *Germany* a Count-*League* t' oppose that of *Smalchalde*, where all the Protestants almost of the North had united to strip him of his Powers; It had Reduced him to his Shirt; Degraded him from th' Empire, and made the *Rodomontada* of the Duke of *Alva* ridiculous; who answered him, That to describe the Greatness of Forces, and the Number of Powers united against his Master, said, That the Duke of *Saxe*, The *Lantgrave* of *Hess*, The King of *Denmark*, and of *Swede*, &c. were of the party; That the King of *Spain*, and of *Naples*, th' Arch-Duke of *Austria*, and the Count of *Tirrol*, the Duke of *Milan*, and the Lord of the *Low-Countries*, were entred int' a League, which his Master would oppose to the Multitude and Forces of th' united Powers. But by the Power of that League, he suppressed th' other; forced the Gates of the Murinous Cities to be opened, and might, it may be, have finished his Design, which hath been since so often and unprofitably Attempted, The Reduction of all *Germany*, if he had not been hindered from other places, as hath been related in the precedent Discourse.

I will not now Speak of it, because I have amply spoken in the second Book of that League, which in *Germany* is called *Catholique*;
 'Tis

'Tis true, That never any League was made of greater Importance, Book III.
or of a more regular or stronger constitution for th' interests of th'
House of *Austria*. And though it had only for Foundation, and
pretence of it's Establishment, the defence of Religion against the
Threatning of the Protestants; 'Tis certain, that it hath not La-
boured, or Lent its Forces to this Time, but to relieve the Ruinous
Affairs of th' Emperour; And to make his Success the more Glo-
rious, and his Power the more Fearfull. Another Expedient which
the Possession of th' Empire hath furnished to th' House of *Austria*,
t' enable it t' undertake without Punishment upon other Christian
Princes, and to make the preparations of their Enterprizes without
Trouble and Allowance of Jealousie to their Enemies, hath been
the special Obligation th' Empire imposeth upon *Germany* to make
War to the *Turk*, and the particular Personage, which th' Empe-
rour sustains of Adversary to that great Enemy of the Faithfull.
And nevertheless, how often hath *Charls* the fifth raised Great Forces,
and Commanded *Germany* to do the Like under that pretence; And
how often hath he deceived the World, and given the *Germans* the
Dog t' hold, in Turning his Arms against *France*, or to th' Oppression
of some of our Allies? As it hapned to the Duke of *Gueiders*;
And when we made shew of raising Men at the Noise of those
preparations; when we put our selves into some Posture to secure
our selves against the Storm that Threatned us; when we would
have used some Precaution to give a Necessary security; Then the
Declarations and Invectives were busie; Then their Cartells and
Manifests were published; That the Conclaves and Dyets were
Troubled with the Complaints they made against our Kings, and
th' Accusations wherewith they did Charge them, in diverting them
from an Holy War, and by th' Intelligence they held, as they would
have it, with the *Turk*, to the prejudice of *Christendome*, and the
Princes of it; so that by th' Artifices and Practices of th' Empe-
rour, we were reduced to that sad Condition, and to that hard
Necessity, either to Suffer our selves to be surprized in th' Ill of the
Time that was framed; as it once hapned to *Francis* the first; or
t' hazard the blame of Insensibility and Coldness for Religion, if we
prepared not some Shelter and some Recrute to secure us; as it hap-
ned t' *Henry* the Second.

I will say, upon this Occasion, and for the Direction of the
Reader; That the Successors of *Charls* have not lost by his Exam-
ple, and that they've been most Worthy Imitators of so good a
Master. *Barbary* hath been often the Visible Subject of th' Armies
they have Raised, and of the Naval Forces they've sent against
France; 'Tis an Artifice, which seems Natural and Infused into
the Blood of *Spain*. And Examples have been seen in the past
Ages; And in Times, when Deceits did not pass for Prudence,
and when there was Ordinarily in the World, Faith that was pure,
and sincerity that was not Sophisticated.

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Behold, a Remarkable passage; After that *Peter* the third King of *Arragon* had lost *Sicily*, and that w^e had taken that fair Island from him, which was not less dear t^o him than the Kingdome of *Spain*; As he was a Great Master in th^e Art of Dissimulation, He presently made shew of Consolation in his Loss, and though his Heart bled inwardly, He made no shew of Grief, and discovered no Thoughts of repair but on the *Barbarian Coast*. Upon so specious a Report, which he scattered in all places, and plausible Impression for t^o Entertain other Christian Princes; H^e obliged some of them, and amongst them was St. *Lewis*, t^o aid him with Money, to provide Ships, and to make ready a Naval Army, which h^e intended for so Holy an Expedition. That good Prince, who knew not how to Reign but for the Glory of God, and on whom the Crown he wore, had weighed too much, if Charity had not supported it, failed not t^o assist so pious an Enterprize; and was easily surprized by so subtil a Device, and by so delicate a Bait. But this Army which ought t^o have Conquered *Afrique*, and put to the Sword th^e Infidells of that Country, had n^o other Object than the Ruine of the *French*, that were in *Sicily*, and by a Supercery without Example, and by a Sea of spilt Blood, not to be parallel'd, Commanded those infamous *Vespers*, which since have been called *Sicilian Vespers*. 'Tis not, to speak Clearly of this Affair, That it was a Crime in *Peter*, if there had been no other Thing in it than to conceal a Design that could not have prospered but by silence, or that th^e Answer he made to *Martin* the fourth, deserved not Commendation, who sent to Demand of him, For what place that great preparation and powerfull Fleet was intended; That if his Shirt knew, what he had in his heart, He would burn it at that instant. Princes truly are not obliged to make known their Secrets t^o other Princes, and to give Account of all their Actions to them that would Demand it. But theirs no Colour nor Art, that can Disguise or Sweeten the breach of Faith in *Peter*, and that black proceeding, which made him Divert the Money which St. *Lewis* had given to make War against th^e Infidels, to th^e Oppression of the Christians. And to Convert a Matter ordained to an Holy use, to the Massacre and Slaughter of *Lewis* his Subjects. What I shall Inferred from these Examples, and from many others of the same Nature, which th^e House of *Austria* may abundantly Furnish, is; That there's too great a Facility, and too stupid a Disposition in the Souls of many Persons, and particularly in the Souls of them, wh^o are inflamed with Devotion, and make profession of a Life, more reformed than th^{at} of other Men; To believe all things, which the Confederates and Agents of th^e House of *Austria* publish in favour of its Piety; That the Zeal which seems to burn there for Religion, is sometimes Nothing else but a fire in Picture, and a Zeal in shew; And that the fair Apparence which dazels so many mens Eyes, resembles the Colours of the Bow in Heaven, which are but an Illusion and a Deceit for th^e Eyes of silly Persons.

That

That particular Obligation, which the Christian Emperours have Book III.
to oppose the *Turks* Armies, and to be the Rampar of *Christendome* on
Hungary side, provides for them also a special power, which other
Princes have not, in making of Leagues, and engaging other Princes
when 'tis necessary to Arm against th' Immortal Enemy of their Re-
ligion and Countries.

Third Discourse.

*Other Advantages that attend upon th' Imperial Dignity above the
Secular Dignities of Christendome.*

A Third Expedient, which th' Empire doth furnish their Empe-
rours withall, to advance, and promote their Affairs in distri-
buting of favours, or in raising of Troubles, is the power, be it law-
ful or usurped, they have from all time assumed to the Convocation
and Assembly of oecumenique Councils. There's no question, that
being the most exalted Heads of the Secular Body of *Christendome*, or
by reason of some particular Right annexed to their Dignity (If any
hath been annexed) But that they interpose with more Authority
and Awe than other Princes in those great and Important Assem-
blies; And especially in these last Ages, where it hath been of Ne-
cessity to Treat of Temporal as of Ecclesiastical affairs; In regard of
th' Heretique and Infidel Powers; That th' Emperour had it in his
Choice to render himself formidable or indulgent to whom he plea-
sed. And as 'tis the condition of Mans Spirit to over-reach things
permitted, and to Enlarge the Limits of Jurisdiction; And instead of
providing a Remedy, against th' Invasion of Infidels, and the De-
fection of Heretiques by convenient Means, hath endeavoured to im-
pose a yoke upon Popes, and to put Fetters upon their feet; As th'
Ambassadors of *Charles* the fifth said upon the Subject of the Council
of *Trent*; And have Cherished the Murmurs of *Heretiques* and their
Complaints against the Church, by reason of the Catholiques de-
portments, and chiefly, in respect of the vices and th' abuses whereof
they Accused the Court of *Rome*.

This Reformation truly of particular Manners, is a thing much to
be desired, and it hath been alwaies the wish of Honest Men to see th'
ancient Discipline flourish, and th' Innocency of the Golden Age
of the Church to Revive. But works are not so easie to be done, as
wishes made; And the Pope by whose Authority the Council of
Trent was Called or Held, had reason to Declare it Just; That the
Church should be purged of the Corruption stollen into some of its
Members, and the Spots taken away that had Disfigured some of his
Legates.

And it was no less Just and Reasonable, That the Princes who de-

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fired with so much Heat and Vehemency that Reformation and Renovation of Ecclesiastique Spirits; should labour on their parts, to make Clean what was sullied in their Dominions, and to Cure their Souls of those furious passions of Ambition and Revenge, wherewith they were vexed; and filling *Christendome* with fire and Sword, made nothing but Desolation and a Burying place. That the War ought first to be banished as the Mother of all Vices, and as the Springs of the License of some Ecclesiastiques, and the cause of their Ignorance; That Peace ought to be given to the World to abate the sharpness of spirits, and th' hatred of parties; That the Fathers, wh' are called to Council, might appear there, free from their Masters passions; and their Souls full of the Churches Interest.

As to th' Heretiques, who've separated themselves upon the pretence of observing Corruption in the Church, and have done it, supposing it to be true, upon th' occasion of a greater Corruption; That they were unworthy Brothers, wh' instead of Labouring the Recovery of their sick Brethren, suffered them to dye for want of Help, and unnatural Children who forsook th' old Age of their Mother, upon Pretence; that Herbeauty decayed, and that they discovered some Spot or Wrinkle upon her face. That the superfluities and Excrecencies of the Tree, if there were any, and the hanging Boughs ought to be cut off; but not the Tree cut down at the root; That they made War, to the Luxury, to the Pomp, and other Vices of the Court of *Rome*, which were th' Appurtenances of the senses, and of the Matter; And to the Pride and Felony, and to th' other Sins, which Arising from the Spirit had the more dangerous Venome, and were of a Superiour order in Malice.

Let's return to our Subject, and for Proof and Confirmation of what we've above said; Let's not forget to observe, that the Council of *Trent* in the Progress of its Convocation, or in its Continuance, was in th' hands of *Charls* the fifth, like a knife that did one while Cut against the Pope, another while against the Protestants of *Germany*; or as an Instrument, whereof He made use, sometimes to gain th' Inclinations of the very Protestants, and to draw them to his side, Sometimes to make himself Acceptable to the Pope, and to place him in his Interests; And so by the Means of Fear and Hope, and by the Ministration of those two powerfull passions, Endeavoured to Govern all *Rome*, and in *Germany*, To give the Law to the people of *Christendome*, and to Circumvent and Undermine *France*, and to take away the great Counterpoise he found against th' Execution of his Designs by the force of this Kingdome.

To the Protestants, full of *Luthers* Spirit, and poysoned with his Doctrine, who burnt with Hatred against th' *Holy Chair*, He promised the Convocation of a Council, wherein the Popes Authority should be reformed; And to the Pope, ready to burst with Grief, to see such great Schism, and defection of so many Souls, who breathed not, but for their Return to the bosome of the Church, and their Re-union

union to the Center of its Unity, th' *Holy Chair*, He gave hopes of commanding the Protestants t'attend at the Councell; And in case they should refuse to submit t' its Resolutions and Decrees, to constrain them; And for that purpose, he caused his Threatnings to b^e Intimated to the Protestants, and frighted them with th' Armies of th' *Holy Chair*, which he would strengthen with his Armes; And 'twas then, when they appeared averse t' his desire, and that they would not Conspire and Labour Joyntly with him in the Ruine of *France*, which was th' End of his Artifices. At another Time he n^deavoured to terrifie the *Pope*, and threatned so to Bridle him by the Councel, and to reduce his power to such streight Limits, That He would repent him of the want of Compliance to his desires, and of consent to the passions He had against *France*; And to render us O^dious to the Protestants, and to sharpen th' Hatred H^e had Imprinted against us, and to make fruitful the Seeds which H^e had long before Sowed, He made them believe, That we were the Cause that the Councel did not hold in places Convenient, and afford Convenient Conditions for them; And at other times, He would aggravate before the *Pope* the Precautions which were offered, and the Preservatives, wherewith we were furnished, to provide against the practices they formed, and th' Evils they prepared against us at *Rome* and the Councel.

Insomuch, that we had an hard Task t'undecieve the *Germans*, to whom h^e had given such Sinister Impressions of our Conduct, and had use of an Extraordinary Industry, Boldness, and good Fortune to make abortive the proposals, which his Ambassadors made at *Trent*; That all *Christendome* would make a League to force us to renounce th' Alliance made with the *Turk*, though no use was made of it, but for the Good of Christians, and for a necessary defence; And to re-establish the Duke of *Savoy* his Uncle in the places of his Countrey, which w^e had taken, though Lawfully and by a Just Title of War; And for other Ends that concerned them, and not *Christendome*, and that tended to the Promotion of their Interests, and not to th' Advancement of the Churches Interest. From thence Issued those prudent Necessary protestations, which *Henry* the second Com^manded to be publisht at *Rome*, and at *Trent*, by his Ambassadors, against those Conspiracies, and Monopolies; From thence came that General Resistance, which the *Suisses* made to the practices of the *Popes Nuncio*, Invented by th' Emperor, and to the violence of his Endeavors to remove them from our Alliance, and t' impede the permission of the Levies of Souldiers to be made in their Countrey in our favour.

I will not here forget a Remarkable passage of *Charls's* ill-will to *France*, though the *Turk* was the publique Adversary, as we've already said, which th' Imperial Dignity did assign him, and that the Contributions of th' Empire, which they call *Romas Zuk*, are principally ordained to make War against the *Turke*. That though the
Princes

Book III.

Princes and Protestant States, ease them of th' importunities th' Emperour made them aid him against us ; As unwilling to shake the foundations of their subsistence ; which are in the Protections of this Crown, and to give th' occasion of a nobler Trial, more worthy of his Dignity ; made an offer to serve him with an hundred thousand Men against the *Turk* ; Yet he refused them , and was obstinate in having that relief and subvention against the Crown of *France*. Another passage also, no less remarkable, must not be forgot, of the respect this Prince paid, and th' esteem he rendred to th' *Holy Chair*, and to the Council, for to gain th' heart of the Protestants ; and employ their Forces against us ; He permitted them, during the sitting of the Council, and before, in the view of the *Legat*, and the *Nuncios* of the *Pope*, and without their interposition ; He permitted them, I say, divers Assemblies and Conferences, to handle there, and resolve of several Points that concern Religion, and which ought to have been decided by the Council. This was in effect to settle Heresie by his Authority, which had been planted by his Connivence, and give a new Title to those Errors, which were believed to be but too deeply rooted. If any thing of like nature had been acted by our Kings, and if they had so insolently forgot, that they were children of the Church, there had not been Lightning enough in the *Vatican* to have darted on our heads in the judgment of our Adversaries ; There had not been Colours black enough to obscure their Honour, nor Satyrs violent enough to blast it. No question will be made of this Truth, if memory be had of the Noise, which the Discourse of *Poissy* made at our Neighbours Courts and ours, though it was assembled by the *Pope's* consent in the presence of th' Apostolique *Legat*, and to appease the Schism which tore us in pieces, and to degrade Heresie with the greater Solemnity ; as the Cardinal of *Lorraine* had made the King to believe it. And nevertheless, for such wicked Enterprizes, and such sacrilegious Attempts, as those of th' Emperour, they murmured at *Rome*, but betwixt the Teeth, and seeret Complaints onely were made, and Discourses in th' Ear ; And whether the softness of some of the Court would not permit the Power and Fortune of *Charls* to be justified, or that Prudence did advise Dissimulation, and the Concealment of an Evil, which to chastise had been a dangerous thing ; This proceeding passed unpunished at *Rome* ; Th' Arms of th' *Holy Chair* were not employed to punish it ; And th' House of *Austria* hath not since failed to conserve amongst its Subjects, but also amongst the Subjects of other Princes, the Reputation of being the Sword and Buckler of the Church ; For that House is so powerful in Artifices, that it hath close and subtil Wheels to remove beseifs, and fine and small Plaisters to disguise its foulness, and cover its faults ; And 'tis true also, that *France* is unhappy in that behalf, and that the zeal it hath ever had for Religion, and respect it hath ever born to th' *Holy Chair*, have scarce gained belief amongst men, and to insinuate into the spirits of its own Children,

dren, and also of them wh' have truly piety and good Intentions, but give too much way to their heat, which is not sufficiently enlightened nor discreet, and too little credit to the light of others, whose heat is prudent and considerate. Book III.

A fourth Expedient, capable to gain Countries at easie Charges, and Victories without Combat, which th'Emperors of th'House of *Austria* would introduce into th' Empire, and would have carried them far, if they had not been hindred, and if *France* had not been found in their way to stop them; Is, The device of Sequestrations; This Stratagem hath so bad a Consequence to the Liberty of the Princes and States which depend upon th' Empire, that even the most affect onate to th'House of *Austria* have been afraid, and were scandalized. And the Duke of *Bavaria*, who from all times hath been one of the Pillars that hath supported the Greatness of that House, sufficiently understood it in that sense, by a Letter of the 13th of Decemb. 1629. which *Sir Joherius* writ in his name to *Sir the Nuntius Bagny*, in Answer to what the said *Nuntius* had written of the 5th of October in the same year, by which he represented unt' him on the Kings behalf, *The consequence of th'Emperor's Refusal, at the request of the Spaniards, to give th' Investiture of such Estates to them who were the Lawful Heirs, and comprehended in the first Investitures, and to strip them of the said Estates by the means of Sequestration.* This concerned the last Duke of *Mantua*.

They began to take this way, and to put this Design in practice, after the death of *William Duke of Cleves*. The *Spaniards*, that would upon any account invade his Succession, which, besides th'Extent and Goodness of the Country, was of marvellous conveniency for them; Obtained of th'Emperour, That he would seize upon *Julliers* by th'Arch-duke *Leopald* their King's Brother in Law, and hold that place in Sequestration; till h' had judged to whom of right the Succession did belong, and had in Justice determined that famous difference, wherein there were so many knots untie, and so many Parties to content; That the decision could not but be very long, and very difficult. This Invention of Sequestration, if it had been in their power t'have settled it, would have given them Means, under the pretext of Justice, t'have assured themselves in time of the possession of what did not belong unto them, and whereof they were seized by a meer congruity. And there's nothing truer, but that of Pretenders, whereof there's ever some of them at their dispositions; or the nature of the business, which cannot be so neat and clear, but that there will ever be some Shadow or Clowd that would be hard to disperse; or the Forms also of Justice, s' often contrary to th' Expedition of Justice, would make so many Difficulties t'arise, and discover so many Incidents, that the true Masters of a contentious Good, tired with delays, without an end, and despairing of ever drawing it from so powerful and covetous hands, as theirs that retained it from them, should be compelled t'hearken to Proposals made

Book III. made them, to receive a Compensation, and to take some real and effective thing, for a few hopes ill grounded, and for some vain and frivolous Titles. Inasmuch, that they would become in Appearance Lawful Masters of that, whereof they were before but unlawful Detainers; And what in the beginning, and in its original, was nothing but force and violence, would in its progress and sequel take the visage and the colours of Justice.

In that manner, the *Spaniards* had resolved to handle the Duke of *Mantona*, if he would have consented to the Sequestration of the Cittadel of *Casal*; And they would, it may be, have done the like to him, if they had taken that place by force, as they made great Assaults to take it. Th' Offer which they caused to be made unto him of *Cremonis*, with reservation of the Cittadel of *Cremona*, or of some other Country of like value in the *French* County, instead of *Montferrat*, is a tacit Approbation of the Violence they exercised, because they did endeavour in some measure to repair it, and a manifest Argument of the proceeding they would hold in th' use of Sequestrations, and by th' Introduction of that new Expedient, to insinuate into the Countries, which are commodious for them, under some form of Equity, and in preserving th' Apparences of Justice.

Charles the Fifth in truth, in the difference which hath so long exercised the Dukes of *Savoy*, of *Mantona*, and of other Princes, upon the subject of *Montferrat*, did not proceed by way of Sequestration, before h' had given judgment upon that Affair. Th' Enterprize seemed unto him too bold and jealous, respect being had to the present Conjuncture; And h' understood well, that it cooled the goodwill of them whom h' had a desire to keep in Neutrality; That fear stopped his desire to usurp *Montferrat*, under the pretext lately mentioned; And he chose rather to draw that business into length, and to make use of it as a Lure or a Bait to draw the Duke of *Savoy* to his Party, and to debosh from our Interests the Marquis of *Salusse*, in hopes that the *Montferrat*, on which h' had also pretensions, should be adjudged to him; As *Antonio de Leve* had given him to understand. At last, having long plaid with the Duke's credulity, and deceived the Marquis, h' adjudged the possession of *Montferrat* to the Duke of *Mantona*, and left the claim to the Duke of *Savoy*, to pursue it civilly, and according to the forms of Justice in th' Imperial Chamber. He did not intend to make him Greater, on whole Countries h' had great designs, and whom he would not permit to be Master of the Barriere which severs *France* from *Italy*, and Keeper of the Gate by which the *French* might enter. His Successors have been more hardy and inconsiderate than he was, and have stirred an Engine, which is never shaken, but to their shame and ruine; For that cause they raised a cruel and long War in *Italy*, but what they gained thereby, was to fall by the just judgment of God into the Precipice they would have avoided, and to draw the *French* into that Country, whom they would for ever have excluded.

- Let's

Let's return to the Matter of Sequestrators, who've plunged Book III.
us so deep into this Subject, and observe it, as a strange thing, that the *Spaniards*, wh^o approved of them as plausible and just in other mens affairs, will not hear talk of them in matters of Contest that concern them. And all the world knows, that in the Succession of *Portugal*, which five or six Pretenders rendred famous in the time of our Fathers, *Philip* the Second would never consent; that that Kingdom should be put in Deposite, or permit, as he said, his Right to depend upon another mans Judgment, which nevertheless was never so clear and indubitable, as that of the Marquis of *Brandeburg*, and of the Duke of *Newberge* for the Succession of the Countries of *Cleves*; And that of the Duke of *Nevers* to the Succession of *Mantoua*.

A Fifth Expedient to grow Greater, and a Right which th^e Empire sometimes appropriates for its Advancement and Enlargement, Is the Confiscation of the Feifes which do arise; But in regard that we will treat of them in the Third Part, of th^e Affairs of the *Palatinate*, and make a stay therein of purpose, at least if some prudent consideration do not hinder us, we will content our selves in sending the Reader thither, and pass on, having onely observed, That th^e Imperial Dignity brings with it these great Rights, and fair Prerogatives, and that it shines by these Illustrious Privileges, above all the Secular Dignities of *Christendom*. But insomuch, that th^e Abuses and Excesses of great Powers are not less dangerous, than the overflowings of great Rivers; And that they resemble to the Chariot of the *Sun*, the Poets feign, which cannot go out of its natural walk, nor quit the Ecliptick Line, without burning a part of the World. The Powers of Emperors are limited, as in other places hath been said, and Boundaries are raised, that they may not go out of their Places, nor pass their Limits; The Pathes h^e ought to walk in are set out unt^o him, and the Course h^e ought to take, by the pragmatique Sanctions, and by the Resolutions of the Dyets of the Princes and States of th^e Empire. Those Laws and Resolutions Moderate that Power; and make that Symetrie of Temper; and Harmony of Humours of all the Body, whereof th^e Emperors are but th^e Head; 'Tis, what th^e Elector *Maurice* of *Saxe* intended; when he said, That *Germany* advanced so many paces to its ruine, as th^e Emperer added new Degrees t^o his Power; and that it might b^e ever free and flourishing, it was necessary always to conserve the Princes Authority and their Power, in the Constitution of th^e Empire, which were the Counterpoise that ballanc'd it.

But since it was very hard to maintain the Evenness of the Counterpoise, and that Ambition, like the Fire, says, 'Tis never enough; And that to rule it breaks all the Chains that Justice thinks to with-hold it by, and respects neither Laws nor Customs to satisfy its Ends; Support for th^e Empire hath been sought out of th^e Empire, and the Subsistence of the Body and Liberty of the Members have in a special manner been under the Protection of

Book III.

France. In what way this Protection is formed, whether by Reciprocal Treaties, or by Custom changed into the Force of a Law; What this Crown hath ever practis'd to hasten the Relief of th' Empire, and hinder the Dissolution of the Body, and th' Annihilation of its Natural Form; 'Tis not any business here to enquire after; 'Tis sufficient that the *Germans* are agreed, and have always declared it in their Treaties, which they've made with our Kings, when they were to be redeemed from vexation, and came to implore their Endeavours or Arms. This Formal Acknowledgment, and Express Declaration is seen in the League of th' Elector *Maurice*, and th' other Princes his Associates, made with *Henry* the Second, to secure *Germany* from th' Irons which *Charles* the Fifth would have imposed on it; That there's no question to be made of it; Inasmuch that *France* cannot be accused of Temerity, or of Undertaking, when it appears in th' Affairs of *Germany*, and that it interposeth its Cares and Arms, That the Ballance spoken of stand straight, and Lean not on th' Emperor's, nor on the Princes side, and Free Towns of th' Empire.

I speak not here, because I've else-where done it, of that General and Indefinite Obligation, which Great Persons have to relieve Inferiour persons when they're oppressed; The common Law of Humanity, whereof they're not exempt, and the particular Law of Charity, which sometimes enters into their Conduct, exact this Duty of all that can render it; And the Law of their Interest, which is the supreme and powerful Law of Princes, doth sufficiently press them to hinder the Great from devouring the Lesser persons, lest they should grow too Great, and lest Power enflaming their Ambition, thrust them on, and extend it to the Dominions of other Princes. I speak not also of another Obligation, more Bounded and Circumscribed, which *France* hath to protect some Princes and particular States of th' Empire, and to be a Shelter and Haven unto them in time of Persecution and Tempest; Such as the protection and safeguard it owes particularly to th' Elector of *Treves*, which was respected by the King of *Swede*, and Sacred with victorious Heretiques, with whom neither he nor we had any War; 'Tis true, That th' aid which *France* owes to th' Empire, when 'tis threatned with Ruine, hath not much appeared since it entered into th' house of *Austria*, but in favour of the Members against th' Enterprizes of the Chief; As also th' oppression and violence which hath been opposed, proceeded from that side, and had their Beginning in th' Invasions the Princes of that House would have made upon the Liberty of others. Yet *France* failed not the last Emperor, when there was need of it. And if in the Troubles of *Bohemia*, and after those happy beginnings, and the visible Evidences of a more happy Sequel of the *Palatine's* Arms, the King had not permitted the *French* to go out of *France*, to fortifie th' Emperor's Troops, and sent the most Solemn and Illustrious Ambassy, which of a long time hath gone out of this Kingdom,

dom, t'untie the Protestant League; and break the Course of their Prosperity, Th' Emperor had run th' hazard of being stript of his Countries, and t'have tried the same fortune he hath made the *Palatine* to suffer, and to become Pensioner to the *Spaniards*, as th' other hath been to th' *Hollanders*. Book III.

'Tis easie to conclude, from what hath been above-said, That 'tis not without Reason, that th' House of *Austria* makes th' Empire the Basis and Centre of their pretended Monarchy; That 'tis not without Reason, that the late Emperor writing to the King of *Spain*, t'incline him t' approve of the translation of th' Electorat of the *Count Palatine* to the Person of the Duke of *Bavaria*, represented unt' him the consideration, That it had ever been the Judgment of their Predecessors, that the Seat, whereupon the Greatness of their House ought to rest, was *Germany*, and that th' Empire was th' highest and the most eminent piece of all *Germany*; That that Dignity was to be conserved in their House above all other things; And that the promotion of *Baviere*, and of his Successors to th' Electorate, rendering the Suffrages of the Catholick Electors superior in number, which should ever descend to the Princes of that Race, the possession of th' Empire would be the better established, and what in Form and Apparences might appear Elective, would in Effect and Substance become Hereditary. And the late King, wh' had so many Natural and Acquired Lights of the things of this world, and in whom the good sense, wherewith he was born, was so much improv'd by th' Experience h' had gain'd, said in a contrary sense to that of the Duke of *Anhalt*, when he was sent unt' him from the Princes of *Germany*, wh' had made a League with him, to be delivered in good earnest from th' Attempts and Allarms, which they s' often received from th' House of *Austria*, That it was necessary to force th' Empire from that House, where it seem'd t' have taken root, and to pass it int' another Catholique House, but less Ambitious; And having shorter and weaker Wings, might not extend them so far, nor flie so high.

But Death caus'd that magnificent Project to miscarry, when it was but in the Flower, and th' Execution it may b' is reserved for some of his Heirs, who may inherit such magnanimous Thoughts, and march upon such generous Impressions as the King doth at this time; Wh' is as worthy an Imitator of the Virtues of his Father, as Lawful Successor of his Kingdom; He's inflamed with the same zeal for th' establishment of the Peace of *Christendom*, and hath this satisfaction; t' have omitted nothing that might b' instrumental to cut off that fatal Succession of th' Empire from th' House that enjoys it; And that Transaction of ill Augury, which is made from th' one to th' other, in the Persons of their Princes. That he spares not any thing to reduce th' Empire to its first Condition, and antient Form; That what they would make Absolute and Monarchick, is temper'd by th' Aristocracy convenient and proper for it; And that

Book III. all is Governed in *Germany* by the Laws and Constitutions there Established, and not by th' Ambition and Capricious humours of them; who would put themselves above the Constitutions and Laws. That by the Re-establishment of that fair Order, and by th' Observation of Things that ought to maintain it, The Peace, which ought to be given to the World, b^e Established in great Safety, and that the Remembrance of Evils past, whereof the return will not be feared, serve only t^e Augment the sweetness of present Benefits, which are not in danger to be lost. We shall shortly be sensible of the Time of this most happy Condition, and though the War seems to be stronger and hotter than it hath formerly been, 'Tis the last Breath it yields up, and the Liveliest flames of a Torch, which is ready to go out.

Fourth Discourse.

Charls the fifth was of Opinion, That t^e attain the Monarchy; H^e ought to make himself Master of one of these three Countries, France, Italy, or Germany; That he failed of all of them, and could not subdue but a part of Italy.

HAVING cleared and unfolded that Principle of the Doctrine, which *Ferdinand* left t^e his Successors to gain the Monarchy; Lets see, what profits they've made of it, and what hath been th' Harvest of s^t admirable a Seed. Death which took away *Philip of Austria* in the Life of *Maximilian* th' Emperour his Father, permitted him not to carry his Thoughts out of *Spain*, nor to Labour at the Work, whereof his Father-in-Law had drawn the Platform, and which so long Exercised, and so Vainly, his Son *Charls*. This *Charls* then failed not, to turn his first paces of Youth towards th' Empire; And though the Steps which carried to this highest Dignity, were Rude and Slippery, and that many Enemies were to b^e Overcome, and Barriers broken before Arrival there, yet he undertook it. The Maternal Family, from whence he Issued, was had in Jealousie with the *Germans*, wh^o had no mind to submit, but t^e a Blood purely *German*; and that should receive no Alteration by a proud and subtil Mixture, as was that of *Spain*; He found also upon his way, a brave and powerfull Competitor; And *Francis* the first, as well as himself, aimed at the purchase of a Mistress, for so th' Emperour called th' Empire, which was worthy of all his Love, of all his Fortune and Powers.

H^e overcame, nevertheless, these two Obstacles, and was happy enough in allaying th' Aversion of the *Germans*, and in Triumphant over the peruses of the *French*. The manner of the proceedings of these two Princes in this glorious Address, was very different;

Francis,

Francis, it may be, who was too Magnanimous for a Prince, at least Book III.
for th' Age wherein he Lived; and whose Soul did breathe nothing but Generosity and Liberty; said that *Charles* and himself offered at the purchase of th' Empire, as two Honest Men pretended to the Love of a Fair Lady; That they desired it, without wishing ill t' one another, and for that cause were provoked by Emulation, and not by Envy; And having Acted in that Concurrency only by good Endeavours, with Promises, and with Money, He stood inferiour t' his Rival, who besides th' Advantages of his paternal Birth, added Threatnings and Force, and made his solicitations in th' Equipage of a Man of War, and accompanied with a good Army. This high pretension having been Crowned with the Success he desired, invited him to form another, to which that served, as a Plank, as hath been said, for the Christian Monarchy; And the youth wherein he then found himself, made him also hope, That h' had time enough for the Carriere, and was long t' Enjoy the good h' ought to gather at th' End of that course.

But th' Execution of this great Project, answered not his Hopes, and Fortune made them to Vanish, when they made the fairest and most pleasing shew; The Monarchy wherewith he was so bewitched, slipped almost out of his hands, and resembled th' Apples of the Fables, which falling upon the Lips of the famished *Tantalus*, and having Kissed them, fell back and flew away: That hapned twice unto him, The first after th' Journey of *Pavia*, where *Francis* the first was taken Prisoner; And the second, after the defeat of the Protestant League of *Germany*, where the Duke of *Saxe* was also defeated. In this success, he was stopped, when he was most Elevated, as hath been often said; and the fore-sight of *Paul* the third hindered his Progress, and cut the Wings of his Victory in the strength of its Flight, and rapidity of its Motion. In th' other he was Blinded with that unexpected prosperity, as with an Excess of Light, and finding his Success higher than he had proposed it, his Head turned in that manner; that he knew not how to take th' Advantages over us, which h' had before his Eyes, nor give his hands to Fortune that would have Led him effectively to what h' had before but in Desires and Thoughts.

However, *Charles* had no sooner turned his Eyes to the pretended Monarchy, and faced that charming Object, but he found himself Opposed by two great difficulties in th' Acquisition of it, which neither he, nor his could ever Overcome, nor heal one of the two Wounds, but th' other was open. The first and the most Important, was the want of Men of War, which nevertheless was less felt in *Charles*'s time, than in his Successors; And the second is the want of Money, wherewith *Charles* was much Troubled, and his Successors less felt. And for that Reason, it hath hapned unto them for their great design, as t' him that would raise a great Building in a place where there are no Materials, and having not Command
of

Book III.

of Quarries or Forests for Stone and Timber, know not almost, where t' have any, nor from whence to bring any. Above all Impediments, God permitted, that a constant supply of Men; the most necessary thing for th' Accomplishment of their Work, failed them; for without Men, as all the World knows, great Warrs cannot b' Entertained or Continued, permanent Progress cannot be made, nor lasting Conquests; A warlike Prince may run and pillage a great Extent of Country, but he cannot take Root, nor settle without supplies of Men. And that Collection of *Beygers* and of *Vagabonds*, from whence issued the Republicque that Commanded all the World, began the Monarchy, which their Successors raised in making a Provision of Men; in changing th' Inhabitants of Conquered Cities into Citizens, and Burgesses of *Rome*; And by 'stablishing in the Circumvallation of *Rome*, the principal Body, from whence their Armies should be formed, from whence their Garrisons should be drawn, and from whence their Colonies should be sent. These things nevertheless, did not cool th' heat of *Charls*; and these Difficulties did but the more inflame his Courage t' overcome them, and above all t' Endeavour th' Opening of some Spring of Men of War that might be Plentifull, and t' assure himself of some well peopled Country, that might serve for the Recrute of his Armies, and the Relief of all his Losses: for that End, *Italy* was very Rich, and well Peopled; *Germany* that was well Peopled, and indifferently Rich, and to which, the *Low-Countries*, whereof he was Lord, served for a Binding and Fringe; And *France*, which had both these Conditions, almost in an Equal degree, and was equally Peopled and Rich. As to *France*, h' had no Lawfull pretence t' assault it, and there's no Country in the World, whose Possession was more Entire or less Troublesome to its Master; Besides, that it was then so strong, and so well semented a Body, and th' Union of th' Head with all the Members was so strict and firm, that in the Condition wherein *Charls* then found himself, there was no place for hope to Conquer it by Land, not so much as to Shake it. For that purpose then, t' was necessary for him t' attend till he became more Powerfull, and that Fortune offered him some just Object, or some specious Colour t' undertake it, which happens, but too often in th' Intricacy of Affairs, and in the Confusion of the Things of this World.

As to *Germany*, and that Vast and Watlike Country, where the Men of War do not decay, and where Men are seen to be Born, as to Dye in their Armies, Th' Enterprize would bring with it Extreme difficulties, and almost Invincible; for though *Charls* was invested with th' Imperial Dignity, which is particularly Known and Reverenced in that Country, and that he had there a considerable Patrimony; yet, the Dignity being in it self but a single personal Title, or at least not bringing to him, wh' Enjoys it, a handfull of Hereditary Land; And the power Joyned to it, being

but

but Subaltern and Dependent upon the Resolutions of the Dyets, Book III.
and Voluntary contributions of the Princes, and free Towns of th'
Empire. But that, and all the rest of the Revenue of *Charls*, was
not sufficient t' oppose the Powers of those Princes and Towns, who
would not fail t' unite themselves to defend the Common Liberty;
so soon as it should be Threatned; And to draw to their party other
Powers, who would be Jealous of s' Ambitious a Design; and In-
terests themselves in Impeding the setting up of a New Monarchy
in the midst of *Christendome*. So that he well Understood, that he
could never subdue *Germany*, so long as it Continued Entire, and
that nothing but the Wind of Division could bring him to th' Haven
of his Ambition, and to gain it, many Ships must be Rigg'd, and
many Tempests Endured; And to Conquer it, many Parties were
to be stirred up, and disorders kindled in *Germany*, or to b' ever in
Arms; and ready t' Embrace all Occasions that should appear, and
to make use of the Disorders which should arise.

But till Fortune provide so propitious an Occasion, and so fa-
vourable a Conjunction, the most present Object, which then ap-
peared to tempt *Charls's* humour, was *Italy*; And that fair Country
had so many Temptations to make him in Love, That the passion
of Conquest began to fix on him, and to Dart his first flames at it;
which truly was no strange thing for th' Emperour, nor for *Italy*.
Th' Advantageous situation of it, by which it borders *France*, *Spain*,
and *Germany*, and upon the Countries of the *Grand Signor*; The
Greatness and Magnificency of its Towns; The fertility of the
greatest part of the Lands; Th' Havens, wherewith they abound,
and the great summs of Money which Trade brings thither; the
Wit of its Inhabitants, and the Temper of their Souls, make up in
one person an Excellent Negotiator, and a great Souldier; And
above all these Temptations, the Seat of the Chief of the Church
contained in it, and th' Advantages might be raised there in Tem-
poral Matters by the Master of it, are capable to quicken a Soul,
less sensible of greatness than *Charls's*, and to provoke an Appetite
less greedy of Domination than his.

Though all this be true, and that th' Excellencies and Inchant-
ments of *Italy* might oblige him t' undertake the Conquest, yet
th' Execution was not easie; and many Inches were to be gone over,
and ill wayes to be past, before he could Arrive there; for though
Charls had then one foot in the Country, and was possessed of *Na-
ples*, one of the fairest Portions and powerfullst Members of
Italy; 'Tis to be considered, That the Country being but at one
End of it, and by consequent, Frontiere to the rest, He could not
advance without Encountering the Church Dominions, and without
an Hostile Entry, which would have been an odious Business and
Matter of scandal t' other Princes, and have raised an ill Sent a-
mongst the greatest part of his Subjects, and even in *Spain*; That
th' *Italians* were not a people to be surprized by Artifices, or ama-
zed

Book III. zed at Apparences; That they looked far into the future; and very clear int' others Intentions; That they would discover his Design at the least noise he should make, and smell the sent that should evaporate, though never so little; That the Jealousie they had for their Liberty was so tender, that a very small Emotion would serve t'awaken it; And distrust is so natural to them, and they sharpen it so keenly by the vivacity of their understanding, and by the subtilty of their speculations, that they would not onely take Apprehensions of visible things, but also suspect often what was not, and give themselves many false Alarms, not to be found asleep when true ones hapned. And as that Prince in many occasions was Happy beyond his Hopes, and Frudent above his Contemporaries; in making good use of occasions, Fortune presented him with a favourable Opportunity for his Design, and managed it with so much Circumspection and Wisdom, that he gained *Milan*, and was seized at last of the noblest part of *Italy*. This Country is the Centre, whose Extremities confine almost upon all th'other States of *Italy*, and the Line which makes the Communication of *Spain* with *Italy*, by the vicinity of *Genes*, an Appertenant; And of *Italy*, with the *Susses*, the *Grisons*, and the rest of *Germany*, by the vicinity of the *Voltoline*; 'Tis the place of Arms, and the Rendezvous to receive from the *Low-Countries*, or to send thither from *Italy*, *Germany*, and from *Spain*; the Men of War, whereof those Countries may have need. Insomuch that since th' Emperour was assured of that Country, and had put his foot in *Piedmont* and in *Toscany*, H' had his Reckoning, and took his Measures to that End, holding all the Ecclesiastique Countries, as Environed, and the Gulf of *Venice* in Jealousie, by the Means of the Coasts of *Naples*; He commanded *Sienna*, *Porthercule*, and some other places which H' held on that side, to be Fortifi'd, to bridle all *Toscany*; He would have had *Montferrat* of the Duke of *Mantona*, in exchange of *Cremona*, and transmitted it to the Duke of *Savoy*, with the Reservation of *Casall*, *Trin*, *Montcalne*, and *Pontdesure*; To draw from him *Vercel*, *Gallinere*, *Inree*, *St. Germain*, *Maxin*, and *Crescentine*; H' intended to fortifie those Ten places, so strong, and to raise such powerful Barriers against th' Irruptions of the *French*, that they should for ever lose th' hopes of forcing them, and of marching int' *Italy*, and th' *Italians* by consequent the Will of calling them in, and solliciting of them t' an unprofitable Protection, and impossible Defence. Besides all this, He conceived to pinch so near the *Genoues*, and so to straighten them, that they would permit of a Citadel, and deliver up t' him *Savonna*, to make him Master of the Ferry of *Barcellona*, and of *Genes*, and that the Duke of *Savoy* would also accord unto him *Nice*, and hold in subjection the Coasts of *Provance*, and of *Languedoc*, and t' have in his hands the Key of the Commerce of those two Provinces in *Italy*.

There

There remained also to Consummate the Work, and to finish the Book III. Circumvallation, which had taken away from th' *Italians* all Hopes of Relief, and all Apparence of Resurrection ; but t' Invade the *Volto-line*, and to ceize upon that famous Gate, by which the *Suisses*, the *Grisons*, the *Germans*, and the *French* are enabled to descend int' *Italy* ; but H' had Eyes only to Covet that Valley ; And it had been then too Dangerous for Him t' have used force to Ravish it ; The *Venetians* also, whose Spirits were never more Warlike, nor Arms sharper than at this Time, would never willingly have suffered such an Usurpation upon the Liberty of *Italy*, and such a particular Block-House against their Country of *Ferme Land*. Besides the strong Troops and Excellent Chiefs of War which they'd on Foot to fight th' Evil in its Spring, They'd as they've now a back-door open by Sea, and the facility of setting forth a Powerfull Navy, to make a Diversion upon the Kingdome of *Naples*.

But what most affrighted *Charls*, and Tempered most th' Heat wherewith He burned for the Conquest of the *Volto-line*, was th' Interest which the *Suisses* would make use of, t'hinder him, and with all their Forces t'oppose him. 'Tis certain, that there was not a Nation in *Christendome* more Warlike and more to be feared than that of the *Suisses* ; The variety of Religions which hath since Traversed them, did not weaken them in the Division, and the Time which changeth and alters all the World, had abated nothing of their strength, nor diminished their accustomed valour. These Considerations suspended for that time th' Emperors design, and made him resolve t'attend till Time and Fortune made some occasion t'appear more favourable for th' Execution. In the mean Time, by th' Evenness and Beauty of the Platform, which h' had drawn to subdue *Italy*, may be seen, what a Great Master this Prince was in the Science of Conquering, and Ingeniere in the Work of Destroying and Founding of Republicques. It may also be seen by the Success, which befell him in that behalf, How God Confounded his Wisdome, and laughed at his Projects ; How He made them miscarry, when they seemed to be the most Happily advanced, and nearest to their Period, and how his Posterity, which hath stuck to't, have found the Labour of a Squibb, which scatters, as it is fired, and th' Exercise of *Homers Penelope*, whose Web untied, as fast as it was Woven together.

Let's return to th' occasion, which *Fortune* made t'arise for *Charls*, and to the way it opened for him to pass through int' *Italy*. That proceeded from the Quarrel, which kindled betwixt *Francis* the first and *Sforces* by reason of the State of *Milan*, whereof they were in possession, and which *Francis* would Recover, as a Piece that did belong to him, and as a Member Dependent upon the Succession, which was fallen to him. It was not difficult for a Prince great in Virtue and Powers as *Francis* was, to strip Petty Princes, as the *Sforces* were, whilst they were alone to resist him, and sole supporters

Book III. of the Quarrel. But they staid not long in that Posture, and th' other Princes of *Italy* suffered with too great Impatience of Heart, and as in the Centre of their Countrey, a King of *France*, who besides the pretensions h' had t' other States there, had also, as they Conjectured, too great a power for small Designs, and t' Ambitious a Soul to be their Neighbour only, to whom he might become a Master. But all that was nothing to the Jealousie *Charls* Conceived, and h' had there a stronger Interest than others, by reason of the Kingdom of *Naples*; The possession whereof being but staggering, as of a Countrey newly Conquered, to which *Francis* had Right, and whose Inhabitants were naturally Lovers of Change, and greedy of Novelty; That made him resolve t' Aid th' *Italians* Design vigorously, and to Labour with all his Power the Re-establishment of the *Sforces*.

But He staid not there, and He was so happy, That the *French* were not only driven from *Milan*, and that the *Sforces* re-entred it; but that the *Sforces* dying without Children, He retained it for Himself, or at least Conferred it as Emperor, and as a Feif of th' Empire upon his Son *Philip*; And so th' *Italian* Princes had the good luck to gain their desires in sending us beyond the Mountains; but they had not all they aimed at, which was, that the State of *Milan* should not depart from a Prince of their Countrey, and of *Italian* Birth. In that, Fortune supplanted their Providence; and in being delivered of a stranger, whose Neighbourhood was in Jealousie with them, They had the displeasure to see his place taken by another, who was not in less suspicion with them; or who knew better than the *French* to keep his Conquests, and gather the Fruits of his Victory, as *Charls* and his Successors have done. 'Tis not here to be forgot, that after the Gain of the Battel of *Pavia*, and the taking of *Francis*, which were Acted in that War; Th' Emperor took off his Vizard, and declared himself publicly for the design of the Christian Monarchy; That hapned at the Consultation made, whether he should set *Francis* at Liberty, and whereupon the Duke of *Alva* gave his opinion boldly, That h' ought not to do it, and that the fatal Time was Come, wherein it was necessary to Collect the many different Countreys, which compose *Christendome*, into one Body, and under one Head, t' oppose it entire and united against the *Turks* Empire, and th' *Ottomans* Greatness; as the sole Means t' abate and destroy it. But in so much that the strongest Opposition, and the most Invincible Obstacle, which th' Emperor had Encountred to his designs, came from *France*, and on what side soever He turned, H' alwaies found *French* Forces in his way, or th' Authority of this Crown; He resolved to turn all his Arms against us, and to destroy the Foundation upon which the safety of *Italy* and of *Germany* was raised. But all these Assaults did but discover an Impotent Will of doing mischief, and the various Expeditions he set a foot upon that occasion on *Picardy* side, *Champagne* and *Provance*, amounted at last to shamefull Retreats, or to great

great Losses of Armies. And what appeared most admirable, and Book III. made the Deceit of the Discourses of Men the more Visible, and the vanity of their Wisdom, was, That th' Enterprize which *Charls* supposed to be the most certain and happy proved the most unhappy and Ruinous.

In the Journey He made to *Provance*, th' Expedition whereof I speak, He came not, as to make a Conquest, but to take Possession; And *Antonio* of *Leve* the first Author of the Design, dissuaded it not, as Judging it Difficult, but as esteeming it Infalible; And that his Master might have all the Fruits of the Success, and all the Glory of the Design, *Italy*, *Germany*, and the *Low-Countries* were Infected with a certain Prophecic, which th' Emperor had caused to be scattered in those Countreys; That *France* ought to change Master this year; And upon that Ridiculous Fear, and upon Hopes no less Ridiculous, The Marquis of *Salusse* General of the Kings Armies in *Piedmont*, quitted his service, and by the Basest and most Infamous Treason, whereof Mention ever hath been made, became the Desertrour of th' Army he Commanded; As a Pilot, who gets out of his Ship at the first Noise of a Tempest. 'Twas then, that th' Emperor published it openly, and in th' Excess of his vanity, That the King of *France* ought to strip him, or be stripped by him, And that the King of *France* should become Emperor, and King of the *Spaines*, or that he would become King of *France*. That is to say, The Monarch of the Christian Republique, by a necessary Consequence. And yet the Success gave the Lye to that fair Prophecic, *Antonia de Leve* paid with his Life, which he left in *Provance*, the Rashness of his Counsel, and Novelty of his Dissimulation. And th' Emperor had the shame with his *Ferrant Gonsalve* Marquis of *Gast* and Duke of *Alva*, To retire without doing any thing, but the loss of thirty thousand Men, in Taking what we did not defend, and in Enttring of Places, which we had abandoned.

Fifth Discourse.

Of the third Enterprize of Charls the fifth to gain the Monarchy, and how it failed him.

TH' Emperour having failed of his stroak upon *Italy* and *France*, applied himself to a Third Enterprize; And as they wh' Assault a place by a Quarter which they found stronger than they did Imagine it, Change their Design, and Assault it another way, which they believe Weaker and less Defensible; He resolved to trye whether the wind would be more favourable unt' him, and the Conquest of *Germany* more easie. Two Heads shall here be proposed to Consideration, which may serve to whet th' Understanding, and open the Reasonings of them, wh' are yet in th' Elements of Policy; And, if

Book III.

I may dare, to turn a word in some manner sacred, t' an unsacred use; wh' are but *Catechumenes* in this Science; 'Tis for them also for whom alone I write. And I am not so vain as to pretend t' Instruct and Discipline them, wh' are actually Ministers of State, but onely them who may be such, and labour to strengthen themselves with necessary Experiments, and proper Dispositions, to receive so noble a form. As t' others, by whose Conduct my Works are enriched, and my Discourses draw spirits and life, I should not be less ridiculous, if I had undertaken it, than if the Stars, having Reason and Liberty, should presume to give a great Light to the Sun, from wisdom they receive all their Light, and all the Beams they send us.

The first Head then whereof I will speak, is, what I have already discovered, of the Constitution th' Emper'or found *Germany* in; That's to say, as a strong and thick Body, which could not b' overthrowit at once, but must be divided and put into parts, t' usurp them all, in getting them by parts. The division ought to b' in part a work of Fortune, and some effect of a Malign Planet to fall on that Country, and partly a stroke of Human Industry, and the fruit of that Reason of State, which may be called, if you please, *Prudence* or *Malice*. As to the second, 'tis certain, that *Charls* was a great worker of Division, and a dextrous sower of Discord; And 'tis certain also, that 'tis not uneasy to sow that Grain, and to make it fructifie, where there are different Interests, and where many may pretend to the same things of Right or Conveniency. But for th' effecting of *Charls's* great design in th' Usurpation of all *Germany*, and of so many Sovereign Members that compose it, to make a Monarchical Body, A light and short Discord was not sufficient, or to divide it into parts, unless it were of Continuance, to prevent their Rejoyning; There ought to be somewhat of permanency and of duration; The Fire ought to be lasting and opiated, and the Matter to maintain it ought to be combustible, but not perishing; Otherwise ther's nothing more natural and ordinary, than that a general Interest, as of Liberty oppressed, rally them, whom a particular Interest had divided. And it hath been often seen, that the Conjunction of Enemies hath restored Concords and good Intelligence in Armies, which before were but Partialities and Discords.

But Fortune did that in favour of *Charls*, which his Industry could not effect for his Interests, and kindled that durable and opiated Fire in raising Heresie, whereof h' had need, that cut all the Sinues of the *German* Body, and broke for ever all th' Union of its Members. The business is but too well known and tried; That there's no subject, wherein the Wills of Men are so Irreconcilable, as that wherein Mens Understandings have contrary Apprehensions in Matters of Salvation, or Wounds so hard t' heal, as them which Heresie makes in the Politique Body. Wherefore *Charls* connived at the Birth of *Luther's* Heresie, and choked it not when he might have done it, supposing, it may be, that He could when He pleased smother it.

And

And having beaten his Enemies with that Flail, suppress them, and even by their Means whom He would beat. But He was deceived in both, and God did not permit that so subtil a poison as his, should make his Operation, and so studied a Mischiefe b' hapoy. For that new Sect had so many wishes from the Princes, to whom they did abandon the Goods of the Church, which were yet in *Germany*; And so many Courtesies from the People, whom they freed from the various Mortifications of the Blood and Flesh; That no Sect ever made so suddain a progress, or took so rapid or so impetuous a course; So that, whether th' Emperor had not then strength enough to justle it, or that He would permit the Zeal to cool, wherewith all young Sects do burn, or that more pressing occasions did call him int' other places, as the defence of the State of *Milan* in *Italy*; He resolved for some time not to disturb the Religionaries of *Germany*, but to make use of th' Advantages, which the permission of that Novelty might prepare for him, and to serve himself of the Demands, of the Threatnings, and of the Forces of th' Innovators, for the Designs h' had in *Italy*, and in *France*, as it hath been represented.

But the Destiny of worldly things, and the Concatenation of th' Affairs of *Europe*, having ordained, that th' Attempts of *Charls* in *Italy* and in *France*, should prove abortive and vain in both Designs; And having no hopes of acting any thing in those places, where He was emptied of Invention and Forces, and where H' had lost so much without the least gain, as in *France*; and gained so little by his Labours and Conquests as h' had done in *Italy*; He resolved t' apply himself to the Conquest of *Germany*, and to revive in good earnest the Design, which till then h' had laid asleep, for the reducing it t' his obedience. For this purpose, and it shall be the second Head whereof hath been spoken, the Considerations shall be made out which probably prevailed with him, and the Reasonings whereupon He grounded his Resolutions t' engage in that Enterprize, and hoise Sail, which was not at last propitious t' him.

Germany then torn in pieces by different Religions; And the Powers of Evil having been so efficacious, and its progress so active, that the number of the sound were found much inferior to the sick parts, and these more incapable to return t' health by the proximity and influence of others, than they to be spoiled by the Contagion and Malignity of the first. And time, having opened the Protestants Eyes, and the various face of Affairs, by which th' Emperor had managed them, betwixt contrary Motions of Hope and Fear, of Promises and Threats, giving them cause t' understand, that his Intention was never to make use of them, but as th' Instruments of his Designs, and Agents of his Passions to torment *Italy*, and give trouble to *France*; And wearied with so many Artifices, and so many Changes, and knowing *Charls's* humour impatient of Rest, and his Spirit transported with a perpetual Ambition, and agitated with a continual Flux and Reflux of Turbulent Projects, and Warlike Thoughts;

Considering,

Book III. Considering, that having stirred so much, and overthrown so much in other places, sometimes with success, and sometimes unprofitably; And having cast his last hooks, and employed his last strength, without taking or carrying away what he desired; Making no question, but at last he would assault them, as a more probable and easie prize of prey; And as Victims sacrifice them to Ambition, th' Idol he did inwardly serve, under pretext of sacrificing them to the Religion he outwardly professed; They did resolve to think of their safety, and not onely by attending th' Evil to repel it, but to advance for to fight him, and to be the first in the field, where they fore-saw th' Emperor would endeavour to be before them. For that purpose, they made a League at *Smalchald*, which had for principal foundation, the consideration of giving a Coadjutor to *Charls* in th' Administration of th' Empire, and to revive one of the Constitutions of the Golden Charter, which says, *That to divert the Succession of th' Empire, there ought not to be three Emperors successively of one Family.* Th' Emperor, who knew, when there was occasion, how to make use of force and subtilty, seeing that he could not Master the Protestants by surprize, as was his design, made no scruple in taking off his vizard, and in going boldly to them, as 'tis said, with displayed Ensigns; To compass it the more easily, and to make the way to Victory the plainer, He practised a double Artifice, which at th' instant prospered and had a present effect, as h' had projected it; He made it to be reported at *Rome*, that he marched to oppose th' Heresie, which excessively overflowed, and which had the design to pass from *Germany* into *Italy*, by the destruction of the true Religion, and upon the Catholiques heads; Nothing could more provoke the spirit of the *Pope*, and stir up his zeal to Religion, which in his person was assaulted; He knew well, that Heresie knocks most particularly at his dore, and that the first Groans and Attempts it had made upon its entry into the world, had been employed against his Power; He considered, that the number of enemies was great, and apprehended the same fury, He did, when the Troops of *Fuelsenberg* marched to *Rome*, in the Name, and under th' Authority of *Charls*, a Catholique Prince, and was nevertheless but in his passage; H' had cause also to fear from them the conjunction of the duration to the violence, that came thither in their own name, and under th' Auspicious Motives of Heresie. Wherefore in th' Emperours favour, h' opened the Treasures of the *Vatican*, and them of the Castle of *St. Ange*; Accorded unto him *Crossades* and *Tents* in all his Countries, in th' Antient and New World; Commanded great and strong Levies of Men of War to be made, which he sent him, and procured him from all Quarters powerful Reliefs and considerable Subventions. Th' other Artifice was, Considering the great Collection of Men, which the Protestant Party of *Germany* raised; and other Northern Forces, which were of *Smalchald* League; That h' ought to labour the diminution of those Powers, to deprive that

League

League of the greatest number he could of the Princes which were Book III.
not yet engaged, and to impede the greatning and swelling of that
Torrent, by the concurrence and confluence of those Waters that
might run into't; He knew the Nature of Leagues, and their
Weakness; He knew, that they were made onely for Conservation
and Defence; That in them the most Ambitious and most Powerful
made haste to Embark; So that they were the Men, who ought to ga-
ther the principal fruits of the Victory, and allowing others a share
of the Conquest, keep to themselves the most rich and fair things of
the Body and Spoil; That the most Moderate and Weakest would
engage slowly; These, by reason of the Accidents of War, which
are always full of obscurity and incertitude; And the others, that if
Fortune were contrary, and the Vessel wherein they'd put them-
selves should make wrack, they should be the first to be carried
away by the ill success, as having least Means of resistance, as to
be the first drowned, as they who had on the sudden neither Boat nor
Plank to save themselves.

And upon this foundation, and to give colour not to enter into the
League, to them who were not very desirous of Emotion, nor so
transported with hatred against him; As the Duke of *Saxe*, and the
Lantgrave of *Hesse*; He withdrew the cause of Religion, for which
the coldest and most fearful are accustomed to take heat, and to
grow bold, and the most wicked and the most prudent are ashamed
to appear without Zeal and Violence; This obliged him to give it out
in *Germany*, That his Arms were not raised against the new Reli-
gion, and Liberty of Consciences; That his design was onely to
suppress Rebellion, which being hatched in the Heads of the Duke
of *Saxe* and of the Lantgrave of *Hesse*, was discovered in the Empire;
That the intention of those Princes was not to defend or preserve
their Religion, which was neither assaulted nor threatened, but to
suppress the House of *Austria*, whereof he was the Chief, and to Ex-
tinguish or appropriate to themselves the Empire, whereof his House
was the Guardian.

This pretext striking at the root of Rebellion, He made no que-
stion, but that it was less powerful than it would have been, if the
Conspirators could have covered their design with so specious a
sail, as that of the Honor of God, and that the wisest and least in-
terested of the Protestants could be content to see the first successes of
those Arms, and on what side Victory would incline, knowing well,
that if it favoured them of their Sect, they should be always wel-
come amongst them, and that the hands of the Society should be
also stretched out unto them; But if the Heavens declared in favour
of *Charls*, and that he triumphed over the Confederate Forces, They
did conceive, that the Thunder prepared against Rebellion would
fall onely on the Conquered who had rebelled, and that the vengeance
would rest upon the Borders of their Estates, who had not acted cri-
minally, nor given Trouble, or excited Revolt. So that the Empe-
ror

Book III. rour held it for certain, That if nothing were stirred up against him but what appeared in *Germany*, he should Easily overcome it; And that the great Forces he saw on foot, resembled the waters of a Torrent, which descend with Pride, and over-flow with Noise and Spoil, but run not far, and whereof th' Impressions only are seen, and th' Evidences of their Violence. To these prudent Considerations, h' added them of particular Interest. To fortifie Virtue, and to Whet the point of it; He made great promises of Honour, and of Goods, to th' Ambitious and Covetous, who might b' usefull to him; And with this Lure, he drew to his party the *Duke Maurice of Saxe*, To whom he promised th' Electorate, and the Lands of his Cozen, which are to this day in th' hands of th' heirs of his Brother *Augustus*. This Age hath brought forth somewhat like this, which shall be spoken of in the Third Part.

As to the Strangers, which the Protestants might Engage in their Quarrel, He knew well that there was none, but the *French King*, that could powerfully Aid them, and that could Contribute to so great an Expende, and to the Necessaries of a long War; That he alone could long Feed that great Monster, which alwayes Eats without ever being Satisfied, and which wants alwayes some necessary Food, though there be all provided that Industry and Force can Contribute. But for this, he fore-saw, that the *Germans* being naturally Valiant and Feirce, and Nourished in an Air like to that of the North, which puffeth up and ordinarily inspires a good Opinion of themselves, would move slowly to the posture of Suppliants, and publish to the World that they had need of Relief; That they would not demand it, till they saw themselves Lost, and would not repair to the Remedy, till th' Evil became Stronger than the Remedy, and that oppressed Nature had not Force nor Virtue to Support it; That it was the Custom of Princes, whose Aid was Implored, to try first a Diversion of th' Evil, and to Conjure down the Tempest which fell upon th' Heads of their Allies, by good Offices and Intercessions, before any Force was raised; And by consequent, That th' Overthrow might be given before any Person could appear to Support, and the deadly Stroak before any Hands could be raised t' hold th' hands of them that Struck it; And 'tis the Nature of the Relief, which Princes give t' one Another, to prepare slowly, To send fewer than are necessary in th' Judgement of them that seek it, and that they are rendred less in Number than they are intended by them that send them.

That this being common t' all States; In that time, it was particularly so to *France*, and that it often lost its Charges and Loans for not Acting in Time, or not Sending of sufficient Forces; As to this business, it did not resolve t' Act Powerfully, nor to make any great Collection of Monies and Men in favour of the *Germans*, without knowing the Reasons, under what Conditions, and what the Fruits should be of so much Money and of so many Lives to
be

be hazarded; That it would have some security for the Faith of them, with whom it was to make Society; As politique Prudence doth advise, and demanded places of surety for the Retrait of their Armies, and not to remain there the Prey of their Enemies, and the Laughing stock of Friends in case of Disgrace; As the Maxims of War require, and other Conditions of a long Contest and difficult Resolution.

That it was the Custom of the *Germans* of that Time, to expect a freer Relief when they had need, than any people in the World; And when all that could be done, was done, to think, that enough had not been done for them, and that the Debt of doing more did remain on our score; That it would Trouble them to resolve upon giving places of surety for the Retrait of th' Armies, which should March to relieve them; To Bridle themselves by Voluntary Block-houses, and to make Wounds in th' Empire which peradventure could never be healed; That if the Providence for the future, and the present Constitution required, that the *French* should be Accommodated with some place to secure their Return, when they should be Engaged in anothers Country; The *Germans* might have Jealousie of their design, and fear lest under an apparent Protection, the *French* should introduce amongst them a Visible Usurpation, and repel one Servitude in the precipitating of them into another; That such an Apprehension would make them Agree without the *French*, when they might do it with an Advantage, and to Leave the *French* in the Dirt, when they had got out of it, and by th' Aid of them; That such a Pretext would not be wanting to turn against their Liberators, and to pass from the Defection to Hostility, and of Unfaithfull Confederates to become Declared Enemies.

That *France* would make good Pawses upon all this Matter, and deliberate long before it did Embarque in so high an Enterprize, and in so Jealous an Expedition; And by Consequent, he promised himself to have Dissipated that great Body of Tumultuary Troops, which made the Protestants so Proud, and to have Annihilated th' Enemies League, before it could find a foreign Relief, or that *France* would stir in their Aid. This prospered with him as he did Project it, and he had then Finished, what he had happily begun, and which he had above half done, if he had not been hindered by the Causes which have been in other places reported. To this League another succeeded, under the Direction of th' *Elektor Maurice* of *Saxe*; It was truly wiser than the former, and th' Entry of *Henry* the second into *Germany*, and th' Apparition of that new Star, which in some sort might be said to have hastned the setting of th' Emperour, and darkned his Light, gave them such a Fright, that he sought an Accommodation with the Protestants, and offered such advantageous Conditions, provided they would quit the *French* protection, that they Accepted of them, and made their Peace at *Passau*, without Comprizing of the King of *France*, who did personally

Book III. nally assist them; They made it also without remembering the two Princes, whom they'd given him for Hostages; And he restored them to their Liberty, with as high a generosity, as the confidence h' had expressed unto them, In asking no other gages of their Faith, nor n'other earnest of their Constancy. It had not been sufficient for *Maurice* t' have Violated his Faith, and failed so Magnanimous a Protector; He who betrayed his own Blood, and made War t' his Cozen *Frederick*, to gain his Countries and *Electoral* Dignity from him, If to Compleat his Baseness, and Crown his Ingratitude, H' had not jall^d Accorded to th' Emperour that the Troops of the League should march for his Service, and b' employed against *France*, which had so much Contributed to make them Victorious, and to free *Germany* from Servitude.

In the year
1552.

The Pretext the *Germans* made use of, t' excuse that foul proceeding, and the Plaister they used to Cover that black Spot, was the Recovery of the City of *Metz*, which *Henry* the second had taken in his March, with the Consent of the Bishop and People, who chose rather to Live under the Government of a Just and Powerfull Monarch, as was *Henry*, than under the Tyranny and Weakness of many Masters, as were the Majestrates who Governed it. The King having taken the Wind of th' Infidelity of *Maurice*, whose Interessed and Changeable humour was not unknown to him, and fore-seeing of future Tempests that might break upon *France*, believed that the least he could do, was to Seize upon some Important place, to put a Bridle into th' Easiness of the Confederates Mouths, and t' hinder them from breaking, for fear of losing that place; And in all Accidents, to Secure and Strengthen his Frontier at their Charges, for whose Security h' had hazarded his Country, and exposed his Life, and the Lives of his Subjects so Liberally for their defence. That was but very Just, and therein nothing done but what the Right of Nature permitted, and the Law did Command. And truly, he that Remembers by what Title and Pretext th' Emperour did seize upon *Cambray* and *Constance*, which were Imperial Towns, and that it was done only to make *Cambray* a Rampar against *France*, and *Constance* a Bridle to curb the *Suisses*, would have Judged the King too delicate, and too weak, if upon better Foundations, and stronger Considerations, h' had made scruple to take Possession of a City, whose greater part of Citizens did Invite him, thither with earnest Desires, and to March within their Walls, after they had Lodged him in their Hearts and Affections.

All the Forces then of th' Emperour were drawn towards *Metz*, the Rock, against which th' Emperours Fortune was broken, and where he began t' understand, that it was necessary for him to Leave the World, where he could not be, what he had been, and descend from the Theatre, where he could no longer appear but in the posture of an Unfortunate Prince, and as th' Example of Fortune.

The

The March to *Ranty* finished the Piece, and the fear h' had there to be taken, as infallibly h' had been by *Sir of Guise*, if one of the Commanders of the Kings Army had not caused the Retraict to be founded in th' heat of Fight, and confidence of the Victory; The fear, I say, which *Charls* had of that Accident, confirmed him in that noble and bold Resolution, which h' had taken, to Leave the World, and to Renounce Ambition, th' Empire, and so great a Number of Kingdomes; He well saw, that by th' Experiences h' had made, and by the Disgraces h' had received since th' Access of *Henry* to the Crown, that the Genius of that Prince was Superiour t' his, and that h' ought not t' oppose his declining Age, and th' infirmities of old Age, to the growing Vigour of a flourishing Youth; He considered, that *Henry* was in Power t' affront him in War; That h' had alwaies th' Advantage of him in Negotiations and Treaties; That h' avoided the Nets were set for him at *Rome*, and in their Councils; And having dissipated the Practices that were hatched there, to stir up all the Catholique *Christendome* against him, h' had the Dexterity to cast the Protestant part of *Germany* on th' *Emperours* back.

Behold then *Charls* out of the World, wherein h' had made so much Noise, and disordered so many things; behold his Monarchical design fallen, and the three Countries in safety, any of which might have served for a Plank, if h' had Conquered it, to pass him to the Conquest of the rest. But what is most considerable, and the greatest Treachery that Fortune ever plaid him, Is, That while he Lived, he saw th' Empire transferred out of his House, and to pass into th' House of his younger Brother; That he saw that Breach, and had not the Power to prevent it, and his Power and Credit unprofitably employed to repair it. The *Germans* Inclination t' have no Emperour but of their Nation, and the Necessity h' had of them in the Wars h' had in hand, obliged him to Consent, that his Brother should be named King of the *Romans*; He did indeed consent, Conceiving in time, either that *Ferdinand* should give the Demission in favour of his Son, or to cause his Son to be named King of the *Romans*, in quitting th' Empire to his Brother.

But *Ferdinand*, wh' had remembered all things that might raise him to that Dignity, and for that End, had been very Pliant to the *Germans*, even to the prejudice of his Conscience, And who saw himself reproached at *Rome*, in the Person of his Ambassadors, That h' had made way to th' Empire by the disdain of Religion; and by th' Injuries h' had permitted to be done him, would not willingly develt himself of a thing, which h' had so dearly bought, and h' had too much passion for his Son, to prefer his Nephew before him in th' highest Dignity of *Christendome*.

Insomuch, that th' Emperour having sent before his Retreat, the Queen of *Hungary* his Sister to *Ferdinand*, and *Maximilian* his Son, t' obtain either a Demission of the Kingdom of the *Romans*, or a

Book III. Substitution to the same Kingdome in favour of his Son *Philip*, submitted to what he could not Avoid, attended the Destiny which had Enthrall'd him, and deliver'd th' Empire to his Brother, which he could not 'ettle upon the Person of his Successor.

Sixth Discourse.

That Philip the Second applied himself principally to the gaining of France, & open the way & himself of the Monarchy; That his Successors have Endeavour'd & Establish themselves in th' heart of Germany, to make th' Empire return to their House, and pass from thence to the Monarchy.

P*hilip the Second* was sick, as his Successors have been, of *Charls's* passion, and was in Love with the Monarchy, as a part of his Heritage; but insomuch that *England* which had much Aided th' Advance of his designs, had taken the Wing, and that th' Empire which would have furnished him with Pretex'ts and Forces, for th' Execution of many great Enterprizes, had fail'd him; He gave rest for a time & his Passion, and made no other Passion & appear than for the Conservation of what his Father had left him, and to fix what he found Changeable in his Countreies; He gain'd indeed at that time some Eminent advantages from *Henry the Second*, which had the same Effect upon the Son it had upon the Father, and which paid for the breach of the Truce, wherein *Sirs of Guise*, the *Dutchess of Valentinois*, and the *Caraffs* did seduce him, by the Loss of the Battels of *St. Quentin*, and of *Graveline*, and by the Peace made at the Castle of *Cambresis*, where he Deliver'd up in one day, what could not have been taken from him in many years, and opened the Gate of Civil Wars in *France*, and shut it for the benefit of their Enemies, since the success of the discovery of th' *Indies*, which made him Depopulate *Spain*, and Exchange Men, whereof h' had great need, for Money, whereof h' had not so great Need. The *Flemish* Defection, which he could not prevent by his Power, though h' Enjoy'd so many Kingdoms, nor by his Wisdom, though he was call'd the *Solomon* of his Age; And the Mutinous and Unquiet humour of the *Moor*s, gave some allay to his great Design, and abated in him that Monarchique Spirit, which had so vexed *Charls the Fifth*.

But so soon as h' heard the Noise, that the differences of Religion made, and saw the Troubles, which the Civil Wars had rais'd amongst us; H' awakened a Desire, which was but laid Asleep; H' Embrac'd the occasion which did Smile upon him; He resolv'd to Cut out the way to the premeditated greatness through the

the Ruins of *France*; He conceived that he could not Work upon a Richer stuff for th' use he had proposed; That he might find amongst us, what h' unprofitably sought amongst others; And the *Spaniards* having ordinarily that Advantage of us; which grows from the Temperament of the Body, and from the Constitution of the Climate, t' Act with more fore-sight than the *French*; Th' Abundance of Wealth and Men; whereof this Kingdome cannot b' Emptied, would Cure them of a Defect, to which w' are not subject, in making the preparations of their Enterprizes with great Slowness and destructive Length. But this hath not as yet hapned, and the same Providence, which to this Time hath not permitted Men to cut the Istmes and the Streights that sever the Seas, which God would have divided, hath not permitted th' Advantages which one Nation hath upon another, to Conjoyn with duration under the Power of a single Person; Though *Philip* set all sorts of Engines in Motion, and employed all manner of Work-men, he could never make such a Conjunction; And *France* could not become his Prey, though it was his Envy, and he could not Enjoy it, though he was passionately in Love with it; And having lost great Forces, and thrown away many Millions amongst us; having Traffiqued much, and made much War in *France*, and stirred up the good and bad Religion t' attain his Ends; nothing remained of Consolation t' him in the failure of the true matter of his Arms, and Practices employed for th' usurpation of the Crown, but the Beauty of the Pretext, by 'ndeavouring to give us a Catholique King.

For the Diversion of the Reader, I will here observe, and for an illustrious Example of the Vanity of Greatness and Instability of human affairs; That 'tis hardly possible to find a Life more Interwoven with good and bad, and more Embrodered with happy and unhappy Accidents, than the Life of *Philip*. 'Tis certain, that if he got much one way, he lost much another way; And that if one part of his Designs hath prospered, another part hath mis-carried, and become abortive; Th' Accomplishment of his Marriage with the Queen of *England*, which Encountred with so many Contradictions and Difficulties; The Victories of *St. Quentin*, and of *Graveline*, whereof it hath been already spoken; The Re-establishment of the Duke of *Savoy*, stripped for th' Interests of his House, and the *French* forced from *Italy*; so many Countreies Conquered, and Mines discovered in the *West-Indies*; the Succession of *Portugal* with its Dependences, which he secured by his Arms against five famous Confederates; The suppression of the Privileges and Liberty of th' *Aragon*s; The defeat of the *Mores*; The gain of the Battail of *Lepantha*, wherein h' had so great a share, and the Re-taking of *Rhumis* and *Gouletta*, are indeed great Successes, and will make a Noise to the Worlds End.

But on th' other side, the Death of the Queen of *England* without Children, and by Consequent, the Possession of that fair Kingdome

Book III.

dome Eclipted ; The loſs of the true Religion in the *Low-Countries*, without preſerving, as our Kings have done, the faith and obedience due t' him ; *France* delivered out of his hands, when he held it as taken ; Th' Assault of *Gelves*, and the Landing of his Troops in *Ireland*, which were unhappy t' him ; And th' Invincible Armado, that would have put *England* to the Chain, and for which the Rodomonts it carried, ſaid, That they deſired no more of God, than that he would not meddle in that Affair, and Leave them to themſelves ; That Invincible, I ſay, Armado, that was but the ſport of a grain of wind, and th' Example of the greateſt Shipwrack that th' Ocean hath diſgraced ſince the time of *Tiberius*. In a word, of the three places, which his Father had recommended unt' him to keep with greateſt Care and Jealouſie, as the Key of *Spain*, of the *Low-Countries*, and of *Africa* ; *Cadix* was taken by th' *Engliſh* ; *Fluſhing* by th' *Hollanders* ; and the *Goulete* by *Boſha Pſaly*. Theſe diſgraces nevertheleſs, and this variety of Accidents, took not from him that Reputation which hath flown through all the places of th' Earth, and which will be repeated in all th' Ages of the World, And as no wonder or new thing ; ſince it hath been the deſtiny of the greateſt part of great perſons to b' expoſed to the flux and reflux of Fortune, and to dye rich in honour after many Loſſes. Though it was the Progreſs and Cataſtrophe of *Philip's* Life, He could not forbear to turn his Eyes towards the Monarchy, and to caſt ſome Glances upon *Germany* the Seat of th' Empire, which is the Foundation and Centre ; It was, it may be, to ſhew his Succeſſors the way they ought to follow t' attain it, and the ſtring by which they might recall and bring th' Empire to their Houſe ; from thence proceeded th' Expedition of th' Admiral of *Aragon* beyond the *Rhine*, whereof ſhall be fully ſpoken in the third part, in the Treaty of the Succeſſion of *Clèves* ; from thence iſſued the Renewing of the ſame Enterprize by *Spinola*, under th' Archdukes of *Flanders*, and under *Philip* the third ; And though both of theſe Expeditions had a nearer End, which was the Communication of *Germany* and the *Low-Countries*, and the Conveniency of making War with moſt Advantage to their Enemies, and to draw them into their Channels and Rivers, yet the *Spaniards*, whoſe ſpirits are alwaies much vexed with future Conſiderations, and in all their Actions, have more than one mark to ſhoot at, beſides the Particular and preſent Deſign, had alſo in memory th' other General, and more foreign deſign, t' open the way for themſelves to th' Empire, and to the Monarchy.

The Succeſſors of *Philip* did not ſuddenly caſt themſelves upon ſo vaſt Enterprizes, nor diſcover Deſigns that would much enlarge their Domination and Limits ; And to the Time of the Kings Death, the *Low-Countries* were the Field wherein they did moſt exerciſe their Armes, and where they've moſt appeared ; Sometimes in the Quality of Affaulcers, and ſometimes in the Quality of Defendants. A little before, and preſently after the Death of that Prince, wh' of right was called the *Great*, and to whom amongſt all our Kings the Title

of

of Incomparable was justly due; if h' had not left a Successor that Book III. did Equal him. The *Spanish* Armes raised Troubles, and occasioned some Innovation in *Germany* upon the Succession of *Cleves*; But their Armes were Chiefly exercised in *Piedmont* against the Duke of *Savoy*, and they made their strongest Assaults to strip that Prince, and to Ceize upon th' Intermedium, which severs *France* from *Italy*; This bloody Game wherein *France* Acted sometimes with Faintings and Weakness, and sometimes with Force, and with some strains of Courage, continued to the Troubles of *Bohemia*, and to the last Emotions of *Germany*; Th' Empire also from *Charls* the fifts time to that time, had so much Changed from what it was, that nothing almost remained, but the Name and Armes, and instead of that proud and high flight, which their Eagles heretofore made and have since done, they did now beat only with one Wing.

But after that the Count *Palatine* had begun that famous Quarrel, which could not b' ended by the fighting of above fifteen Battels, and Angred them, whom since he could, neither overcome nor appease; when he had taken *Bohemia* from th' Emperor, and carried the War into the Heart of *Austria*, and to the Suburbs of *Vienna*; The two *Austrian* Powers being United, had speedily their Revenge of that Affront, and having changed the Course of th' Action, and turned their Defence into an Assault, thrust out the Victory with great Advantage, that they were within litle of the Compleating of it, in seeing it Crowned with th' Entire Conquest of *Germany*, That without doubt had hapned, if th' Impatient greediness of the *Spaniards*, as hath often been expressed, had not made them forget that old Maxim which was so familiar with them; *Never t' undertake New Conquests, till the first had been well settled.* And if the Countries of the Duke of *Mantoua*, which in apparence ought t' have changed their Master, Had not made them quit the Certainty, for th' Uncertainty, and t' Hazard what they Possessed in *Germany*, t' Usurp what they could not take in *Italy*.

But let's leave th' Affairs of the Duke of *Mantoua* to the third part, and take up the Designs of the Kings of *Spain* to cause th' Empire to return to their House, and to put under the Wings of those Eagles, what they had in their Possession, and to Joyn, what they did not Possesse, and was necessary to make up the Wheel of their Monarchy. They well saw, That after they were Possess of th' Avenues, and had Ceized upon the Borders of *Germany*, That if they advanced but slowly in that great and vast Countrey, The business would be too long, and that upon the way they should meet with so many Rubs and Impediments, that they might peradventure be Constrained to stay or retire. That did not divert them, from the project of Invading the *Volstine* for the Communication of *Italy* with *Germany*, and establish themselves beyond the *Rhine* for the Commerce of *Germany* with the *Low-Countries*. As to the first, th' Inhabitants of the *Volstine*, whom they'd long prepared to Revolt against the *Grisons*,

Book III. *sons*, their Sovereigns, and the grain of Discord which they had there Sown and Husbanded with great Care, made them believe that they should alwayes find the Door open there, when they'd a Mind t' enter, and that the pledges would remain in their hands during the Contestation of the Parties. As to the second, the Death of the Duke of *Cleves* without Children, and the Concurrence of many Pretenders to that Rich Succession, put it out of Question, that if they did not possesse themselves of all the Countrey, yet they should gain some Important Member, and some Considerable peece. But their Providence carried them further, and by an Intrigue Contrived with much Subtilty, and Cherished with Constancy in the Family of the Princes of th'other Branch of their House, They endeavoured to fix themselves in th'Heart of *Germany* to gain there great Countreys; To take away the great stone of scandal, and the fatal Obstacle, which hindered them from Attaining th'Empire; That they were Strangers to th'Empire, and no Members of the *German* Body.

Two Principal Considerations gave them Courage to frame this Design, and to Contrive th' Intrigue; The first the Weakness th' Empire was fallen into since the Death of *Charls* the fifth, and th' use the present Emperours had of their Aid and Protection against the fervent Invasions of the *Turk*, wherewith *Hungary* was much annoyed, and against th'Enterprises of Protestants, who were held at Bay, and hindred to stir for fear of their Powers; The second Consideration was, th'Imbecillity of th' Understanding, and base Inclinations of th'Emperour *Rodolphus*, under whose Reign the Peace begins, which shall shortly be set forth. His Brother *Matthias*'s humour being alwayes unquiet, and to whom Novelty, troubles and disorders were vvonderfull Baits to carry him any vvhitther; And th' humors of the tvo younger Brothers, *Maximilian* and *Albert*, vvh' had neither Action nor Vigour, and vvere vvholly for Dependency in a Submission, and a blind obedience.

On th'other side, The Genius of *Ferdinand* th' Archduke of *Grets* their Cozen, and Brother in Law of *Philip* the third, bred to Devotion, and by the Custome of Dependency upon Spiritual Things, much disposed to be Governed, and to permit Direction in Temporal Things; And no marvel, since it often happens that one of the Dependencies draws on th' other, as well on their part who submit and follow, as of them who Govern and Conduct, and not being content with so absolute and delicate a Domination, as that which is exercised upon th' understanding, cannot forbear from enlarging of it upon material Objects; And if they make not firm and durable Usurpations in that Province, to make there at least from time to time, Irruptions and IncurSIONS; And in Relation to th' objects themselves which are often much Complicated, and Mixed and Compos'd of what regards th' Understanding, and Concerns the Matter, and in which by Consequent, their Princes have no less need of the Council of Conscience, than of Council of State, and to b' enlightned with
Lights

Lights of Christian Morality, as with the Lights of Policy. So- Book III.
that though *Ferdinand* naturally loved Justice, and hated Im-
probity, It was no difficult thing to perswade him to Consent to
things, which justled Justice and Probity, in Colouring of them with
th' Apparences of Religion, and in gilding them with the Pretext of
the greatest glory of God.

Besides, That Prince had a Weakness, to which all of his disposi-
tion are Subject, being of a benign Nature and sweet Temper, not
to resist a long Importunity. The *Spaniards* easily foreseeing, that
Assaulting him in that place they should gain divers things, to which
H^e had an Aversion, and Accord them, to Redeem himself from Vex-
ation. And for to Compel him to yield, It was necessary only to re-
double their batteries, and to summon him often to yield, which fre-
quently hapned; As it also fell out, That in Consideration of his
zeal for Religion, of his Love for Justice and other good Qualities
in that Prince, God sent him prosperities, which had no mixture or
proportion of Moral virtues; And for the punishment of his defects
and weaknesses, which he permitted to be th' Organs and Instruments
of other Mens passions, he sent him such violent disgraces, that he
thrice saw himself within a little of being lost without Remedy, and
upon the brim of a Precipice from whence no person falling in, re-
covers himself; but at last good Successes carried him over all disgra-
ces, and H^e had this Satisfaction before Death, to see the Promoti-
on of his Son to the Kingdome of the *Romans*, though it was held un-
lawfull, and the greatness of his House in some safety, and in some
good condition of Subsistence.

Let's Resume, what we have quitted; *Ferdinand* had a Brother
called *Leopold*, who was not truly a Prince of high Understanding, nor
of great Ambition, nor Unfurnisht of Common Sense and Martial
Heat, and obliged to depend, as younger, on the Motions of his El-
der Brother. The *Spaniards* Judged also, That He would b^e obli-
ged to depend on them, who gave the Law t^o Actions, and to th' others
Conduct, and that He might b^e a proper Instrument t^o advance the
Designs they had on the *Grisons* Liberties, and for th' Usurpations of
the *Volturnes*.

Seventh Discourse.

*In what manner the Successors of Philip Endeavoured t^o establish them-
selves in Germany; The Motives which obliged the Bohemians
to withdraw themselves from the Government of th^e Em-
perour Ferdinand, and to call th^e Elector Pala-
tine to the Crown of Bohemia.*

THE Conditions of these Princes carefully observed, as hath been
said, and in strength and weakness well known to the *Spaniards*,

Book III.

In the year
1606.

They began to Work at their Business, and to give Fire to their Artifices, whilst *Rodolphus* made a Shop, and forge of his Cabinet, and reduced all his Imperial Thoughts into the search of the Philosophers Stone, and to make Watches and Dialls. They made a Treaty with *Paul* the fifth, and with th' Archdukes, by which, And all for the Conservation and Exaltation of the Catholique Religion, It was resolved with a Common consent, to declare to *Rodolphus*, That he Dying without issue Male Lawfully begot, Th' Eldest of th' House of Austria should succeed him in his Hereditary Countries; which Declaration being made, He would Endeavour to cause him to be chosen King of the Romans, lest th' Empire should fall into th' Hands of the Protestants, but if this could not be Effected, He would declare him King of Bohemia; That this Protestation should be made to th' Emperour with an Army, to Compell the Bohemians to Accept of this Declaration, in case of Refusal, and the Confederates bound themselves to Aid him with Moneyes and Men, if they were thereunto required.

In this business, the Pope's zeal is excusable, wh' had truly for his End the Conservation and Exaltation of the Catholique Religion, whereof He was th' Head, who believed, that it could not receive a more dangerous wound, than in permitting th' Imperial Crown to sit upon an Heretiques Head; And to whom, without question, Advice was given, that th' Election of the Kingdom of Bohemia was an Usurpation made by the Bohemians, whereof they ought to be delivered, and an Invasion of the People upon the Right of it, which they would restore to its Original. Moreover, Popes pretend to some right of Superiority and Superintendency over the Matters of th' Empire, and which concern th' Electors, whereof one of them is King of Bohemia. They pretend to have been the Founders of th' Empire of the West, and that *Leon* the third made the separation of the Body of those Countries, which belonged to the *Gracian* Emperours, and gave to *Charlemain* the Western parts, as Members at too great distance from their Head, to receive any Influences or Life. They call themselves th' Establishers of th' Electoral College, and th' Authors of reducing the Suffrages to the present Number, for th' Election of th' Emperours; Thus one *Longy* amongst the Modern Writers, hath published it, not Problematically, as a Thing to be disputed, but Affirmatively, and by positive Resolutions, in th' Aphorisms which he published at Rome upon the promotion of th' Electorate to the Duke of *Bavaria*, when he sent to Demand the Confirmation of it, to *Gregory* the Fifth. Upon these Foundations, and with these Titles, Popes presume to mingle safety with th' Affairs of th' Empire, and that they are bound to provide that what is of their Institution, and hath issued from th' Authority of th' Holy Chair, turn not to the prejudice of the Church, and make waste in Gods Vineyard, committed to their Charge. Whether Popes are well or ill served in those Pretensions, and whether there are pertinent Replies, and just Exceptions to those Aphorisms,

Tis

Gregory the
Fifth.

'Tis the business of interested Persons, and not mine, to make the Book III. discoveries. I say only, that in Case these pretensions are probable, and likely, they're secure from Injustice and Unbelief, when they're to be used; And that Opinions truly probable are sufficient Principles to Act Lawfully and with a good Conscience, as I shall make it appear in the Third Part.

But as to the *Spaniards*, as they had another End, than that of Religion, or at least, that they did but Obliquely look upon it; I know not, how their Proceedings can be Excused, or the Violence Sweetened, that gave Trouble to the Peace of th' Emperour and Empire; They were busie where they had no right of Intervention, and entered by a Breach, when they could not enter at the Gate. I know not by what Law of Conscience they could raise a Subject against his Sovereign; How they could make *Mathias* a Felon against his Brother *Rodolphus*, and Compel him with a strong hand and with a raised Arm to Act *Mathias's* Will, though it were Just, though it were Holy; nor by what Right of Nations they could deprive a Kingdome from all times Elective, of the Liberties and Customs, which were not unknown to them, and Violate the Privileges, which to that time had been Inviolable.

But if in this, as in many other things, they would Cover themselves with their old Cloak, and say, that it was still to pare the Wings of Heresie, and to Cut off its way, lest it should pass further into *Germany*; To that, Answer may be given, That th' End was good, but the Means were not, and that they took a way to gain it, wherein were so many ill passages to get over, and so many precipices to avoid, That there was as much cause of Fear as of Joy, In behalf of Religion; and th' hazard betwixt Gain and Loss, was equally uncertain; That in matters of Religion, th' Heavens ought to Act, and Providence to Govern; And an Entire submission ought to be given to that Power, which Conducts things to their Ends, according to the good pleasure of its Will, and not according to mens Fancies; That it did not belong to them to Command the Times, which were not Ordained in the decrees of th' Eternal Councils, nor to hasten the Maturity of Accidents, which appear only in their Season, and discover themselves in th' Appointed hours of their Time; That they were to be Confined to the Limits of the received Order of things, and in Obedience, not to Wander from the Common Right, nor to Honour God by Vice, or to seek his Glory in the way of Injustice, Violence, and Breach of Faith. Nevertheless, by this proceeding of the *Spaniards* may be seen, how Licentious their Appetite is of Governing, and their Ambition boundless; How Active and Destructive that fire is, and Nourished with all sorts of Materials; That it Consumes not only them that are not of Relation to them, but Burns their own Parents, and dissolves the Cement of Blood, and of Alliances. Lets return to our Subject.

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When the Plot spoken of was formed, and the Conspiracy resolved upon against *Rodolphe*, Th' Evidences thereof were suddenly Visible, and *Mathias* made haste to give them credit by memorable Attempts; And for that purpose, he Commanded th' Army to march towards *Prague*, where th' Emperour was, which had been raised in *Goritia*; And having, as it were Enclosed him in that Capital City of *Bohemia*, He sent him, in that Posture, and with that Equipage, the Protestation which had been agreed with the *Spaniards* and the *Pope*. What should a Disarmed poor-Spirited and Ignorant Man do, as *Rodolphus* was, in the streight wherein h' had shut himself, but receive the Law from him, wh' had Power to give it, and to yield to th' yoke, that was forced over his Head? An Agreement then was made in the Moneth of *June*, in the year 1608. by which it is ordained; *That he deliver up to his Brother Mathias, the Crown of Hongary, the Scepter, the Royal Hat, and th' other Ornaments which were carried unto him by the Cardinal Dietrichien; That he reserved for himself the Title of that Kingdome, to bear it Joynly with Mathias; As also he did relinquish unt' him the Lower and Higher Austria, whereof he retained only the Title, discharging th' Inhabitants of the Country from their Oath of Fidelity, which they had Sworn unto him, and Consents, that the said Archduke should be nominated Heir to the Crown of Bohemia, in Case he Died without Heir Male, and all this to be done without prejudice to the States of the Kingdome, in their Right of Election and other Privileges. The States of the said Kingdome consented to the said future Succession upon two Conditions, which were, That no prejudice should be done to their Privileges, and that the said Archduke, during the Life of his Imperial Majesty, should not in any sort meddle with the Government of the said Kingdome, nor with the Provinces Incorporated to it; And in Case he did, that he should be deprived, and forfeit the Right of Nomination, which was Accorded unto him, and that he should Entitle himself only, the designed King of Bohemia: Rodolphus was not Entirely degraded by this Treaty, nor the Liberty of the Bohemians wholly suppressed; There's alwaies a middle berwixt two Extremes, and some kind of distance to pass from th' one to th' other. All the Wounds which are received, do not Kill a man suddenly, and the Vigour, which that people Expressed, and the Resistance they made in th' Occasion, secured to th' Emperour and them, the Remainder of Liberty which appeared in that Treaty. The boldness of *Mathias*, and the practices of the *Spaniards*, staid not there, and stopped not in so fair a way. They had not begun so well without Resolution to pursue it, nor so happily Entered upon their business without finishing of it; The Dye was cast, And it was an Inviolable destiny in their Judgment, to Abolish the Right of Election in the States of *Bohemia*, and to make that Kingdome Successive and Hereditary; For that purpose, it was thought necessary to vex the *Bohemians*;
 Their*

Their yoke was to be made heavier, and their Servitude larger. All obstacles were to be broken, and all Gates opened that opposed that design. The Cardinal Clesfel, *Rodolphus's* Confident, and Governour of th' Affairs of *Bohemia*, made a great Opposition against them in the Councils, and feared not to resist them publicly, and break all their Stratagems; it was the Cause that *Mathias* at the suggestion of the Count of *Ognate*, the Catholique Kings Ambassadour, caused him to b' Imprisoned, unknown to th' Emperours and without any Consent of the *Nonce* resident in that Court; And thus having disarmed *Rodolphus* of his faithfull and bold Minister of State, and taking down that head, which infused vigour and understanding into the *Bohemians*, he thought to reduce them easily to what they desired.

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After these Actions of *Mathias* above spoken of, and th' Innovations h' Introduced in th' Emperours Court; after h' had there done for a time all that he would do, and Governed at his pleasure th' Empire under the Name and Authority of his brother, He came at last to his desire; but he was no sooner settled in his Throne, whereunto the *Spaniards* had aided him t' ascend, but they made him t' Adopt his Cozen *Ferdinand*, to th' Exclusion of *Maximilian* and *Albert* his Brothers, and declare him his Successor t' *Hungary*, *Bohemia*, and th' Hereditary States.

This Declaration was not barren and vain, it was attended with its effect, as the Lightning is sometimes with the Thunder; *Mathias* caused *Ferdinand* to come to *Prague* by deceit, and with Money, but more effectively by the power of th' Army h' had in *Bohemia*; He compelled *Ferdinand* to Crown him King of *Bohemia*, leaving out the word of Election, and without any Apparence of th' Intervention of the States Authority, which was the work the *Spaniards* aimed at, and for which they had long given themselves much trouble; The Complement of the business, and the Conclusion of it was, That they made a Transaction with *Ferdinand*, by which it was resolved, That th' Election of the Kingdoms of *Hungary* and of *Bohemia* should b' abolished, and that the King of Spain should succeed to those Kingdoms, in case of default of the Strait Masculine Line of *Ferdinand*; Provided, That the King of Spain should relinquish all the Rights h' had in that Country in Title of *Granchil* of th' Eldest of that House.

In the year
1617.

Whereupon 'tisto b' observed, that all this was done and concluded betwixt the *Spaniards* and *Ferdinand*, with full Power, and pure Violence, and without the knowledge or participation of the States of those Kingdoms, which are Elective; And it was th' occasion of a great displeasure conceived by the *Bohemians*, when it was made known to them, and the great stone of scandal, against which they struck, and which carried them to the Resolution they afterward took, to reject *Ferdinand* from being their King, and to call int' his place *Frederick Count Palatine*; under whom was framed in *Germanyan* Intricacy of Affairs, which five and twenty years of War could not dissolve; And that a thousand new Accidents, which every

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every day arise, forbid the wisest Men to discover th' Events, and the way to get out of that Labyrinth. That the Transaction was the principal and most violent Motive of th' Insurrection of the *Bohemians*, appears by the Declaration of the States of *Bohemia*, upon the rejection of *Ferdinand*, of the 23^d of May 1618. by which they complained amongst other things, That there was an endeavour to transport the Kingdom to another House; It appears by the Letter, which th' Elector *Palatine* wrote to th' Emperor the 25th of June in the same year, wherein he says expressly, That th' Authors of those Troubles were Persons, who sought th' Improvement of some Foreign Greatness, and represents the Troubles which the Provinces of th' Empire would feel, if Strangers were introduc'd, as had been done in the Dutchy of *Fuliers*. It appears also by the Declaration made by the *Bohemians* in the year 1619. upon th' Election of *Frederick* the First, wherein they clearly said, That *Ferdinand* endeavour'd to translate the Kingdom of *Bohemia* under a Foreign Power.

But since there's nothing so easie as to Accuse and Disguise an Accusation; That every Person flatters himself in his own Cause, which he adjusts and beautifies as he pleaseth; And that the Paper receives what is imprinted upon it, as a Glass doth represent all that is set before it. Let's produce the testimony of *Ferdinand*, and the proofs he hath furnished to the *Bohemians* Complaints; 'Tis certain, that his Predecessors speaking of their States ever put this Expression, of our Kingdomes and Hereditary Provinces; The word Hereditary Accompanying onely the Provinces and not the Kingdomes; He Transposed the word to the beginning of the Clause, that he might Fixe and Incorporate himself upon the Kingdomes as Provinces, and made it thus, of our Hereditary Kingdomes and Provinces; And in his Monitory Letters of the 30. April 1620. against th' Elector *Palatin*, by which he summons him to Leave in a Month, The Kingdom of *Bohemia*, and pretends that that Crown was fallen to him by Natural and Successive Right.

There was another Cause, which was doubtless known to the *Bohemians*, and obliged them to change their Master, and to seek another yoke than *Ferdinand's*, whose person otherwise was not unacceptable to them; 'Tis the strong and Implacable Aversion that Prince had against Heresies, and th' hot and burning zeal to Exterminate them out of his Dominions, and in all places where his Authority was acknowledged. At twenty years of Age, He made a vow to our Lady of *Loretta*; He renewed it at th' Age of forty three, to our Lady of *Celles*, which is betwixt *Austria* and *Styria*, and Confirmed it a little before his Death by the Report of Father *Lamorman* in that Book of the Virtues of that Emperour. The Zeal truly of seeing the Ruine of Heresies, and of placing living stones in the Temple of God, and the words of th' Apostle, is very Commendable in it self, and it have no sense thereof is to be wholly deprived of Charity towards ones Neighbour, which is one of th' Ends of Christianity; There must be

a want of Piety to the Church, to which Heretiques make War ; No Love for the Glory of God, which is Profaned by Fable Worship. But though this Zeal may be as hot in th' Heart, as it should be, and burn within ; Though it may be much inflamed in it's Principle ; yet it ought not t' appear but Tempered with Discretion, nor break out but by measure and Rule ; It ought not to procure its End but by convenient means ; by the waies which God hath ordained, or hath left to Prudence to make Choice of ; Above all, he may b' assured that its Operations are ordinarily better effected by gentle and peaceable, than by violent and bloody hands. And suppose it to be an ill Invention, to Kill instead of Healing, and to pull down an Edifice t'hinder the burning of it ; That in Truth, there are Constitutions and Encounters, where strong Remedies are to be used to stop the Contagion of Diseases which gather, and where Houses are broke down to prevent the fire, which they cannot put out from burning of others mens houses, and consume that which might have been preserved. In this, I have given some Rules in the first part, and in several places, I say, somewhat of it here and there, as I conceive it necessary, and as th' Apptes, which I see there Acted oblige me.

But 'tis Chiefly necessary, in kindling that Zeal in the Spirit of Princes, t' insufe also convenient Lights for their Conduct. And what I have said in other places ought to b' observed, and cannot too often be remembred, *That great Persons cannot commit small faults, nor General Causes removed by small Ruins.* *Sebastian*, the last King but one of *Portugal*, before that Kingdom was subdued to the Power of *Spain*, is a very Remarkable Example of what I have now said, The Queen *Catherine* his Mother having trusted his Education with Religious persons, honest Men indeed, and of Eminent Learning according to their profession, but unexperienced in th' Affairs of the World, and in the Science of Princes ; Their greatest care was, t' imprint deeply into the Soul of this Prince, naturally valiant, the desire of making War to the *Mahometans*, and to Convert that great Principle of valour, wherewith he was born, to the Destruction of th' Infidels. This was truly very good, but the precepts were given him, and th' Impression made without Discretion and Choice, without Moderation and Rule, which spoiled the Goodness, and corrupted the Virtue of that Education ; So the fruits, which it produced, were not beneficial to Religion, though it was his Principal End, but fatal t' his Countrey, which changed its Government, and fell under a yoke, which it hath since born with much Impatience, and at last shaken off, after the losse of all patience. As to *Ferdinands* vows, which are much esteemed by them, not to permit any Heretiques in the places of its Dominions, and to suppress the least Impressions there of Heresies, Not to speak of the Nature of those Actions, which may b' Excellent in themselves, I find great Imprudence in the Solemnity, and in that Eminent condition of Acting them publicquely, and to the knowledge of many persons. There are Actings indeed, which ought to b'

Book III. b' Acted in the sight of the World, and Exposed t' high Noon, and put, t' use our Saviours Comparison, in High places, as Cities built upon the Top of Mountains, that they may be the better seen, and that they, who shall see them, give God the Glory; And a Doctor that shall make a vow t' Apply himself wholly to the Combat of Heresies, and to purge the Spirits by his Doctrine of the venome, which is the more dangerous and mortal to them wh' are the least sensible of it at their Deaths, might perform an Act of great value, and a thing in some sort Heroique: But for a Sovereign Prince that would Exercise Proscriptions and Punishments against that kind of Diseases, not t' use greater Circumspection and Secresie than a particular person, and to publish his Zeal and declare his Design by some publique formality, what other things is it, than t' advise his Enemies to b' upon their Guards; Than t' awake them that sleep, lest they should be surprized; Than to give them the Will and the Leisure to put themselves into a posture of defence; To seek Friends and Protectors; to Fortifie themselves with Confederations, And to Cast them into Despair, which is more to be feared than Courage? This hapned to the *Bohemians*, and 'tis the second spring of the *German Troubles*, which *Ferdinand* opened, and one of the principal Causes of th' Emotions in *Germany*, which continue to this day.

End of the third Book of the second Part.

FINIS.



THE
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OF
The SECOND PART
OF
The Minister of State.

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